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ST. LUKE'S DEBT TO ST. MATTHEW

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PREFACE

THE argument pursued in these pages is based, substantially, not on theories of Christian development to which it has been sought to bring the literary data into conformity, but on a direct application to those data of general principles of comparative documentary criticism. It may be worth while to state some of those principles in their generalized form:

1. Where two or more documents correspond in contents, order and language beyond the degree that is necessitated by their subject or probably explicable by accidental coincidence, there is a presumption that, unless inter-dependent, they share (immediately or mediately) a common written or oral source.

2. Where these correspondences or identities attain a certain degree of minuteness the balance is tilted against the hypothesis of merely oral connection.

3. Unless external considerations urge, it is unscientific to conjecture hypothetical documents to explain correspondences for which a theory of direct inter-dependence is sufficient.

4. In determining the direction of dependence (i.e. whether document A depends on document B, or *vice versa*) weight must be given to the internal coherence of subject-matter on the one hand, and to the employment of merely external links in combining material on the other hand. We may also be helped by a knowledge of the literary methods and the psychology of one or both authors, and especially by evidence of an author's deviation from his habitual style or vocabulary under the influence of a source.

Of these principles the one that needs perhaps most emphasis in the present condition of the "Q"-problem is the third. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.*

It must be for the reader to judge whether these principles have been fairly applied in the following essay, and whether the conclusion is validly drawn. That conclusion is not novel: it was advocated in How Luke was Written (E. W. Lummis, Cambridge University Press, 1915), in The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels (H. G. Jameson, Blackwell, 1922) and in Matthew, Mark and Luke (H. J. Chapman, Longman's, 1937); it approximates to Lagrange's position, and was suggested by J. H. Ropes in his posthumous lectures on the Synoptic Gospels (Harvard University Press, 1934). It is not popular in some quarters, but it remains permanently true that the *onus probandi* lies on those who postulate a document which, since the demonstration that *logia* means not Sayings, but something like Inspired Oracles or Holy Writ, can hardly be claimed to be much more than pure hypothesis. In other words, it should be possible for the supporters of "Q," if their theory were sound, to exhibit the untenability of the alternative theory here propounded. It will be something of a paradox if those who maintain the priority of Mark while denying the necessity of an Ur-Marcus can go on indefinitely believing that Ur-Marcus' partner, "Q," is, nevertheless, a necessity.

My principal personal debt is to the late Abbot Chapman, whose studies were known to me long before they were published in the recent volume and were the turning-point in my understanding of the Synoptic Problem. But I may point out here that the following essay is concerned with the "Q"-problem. My personal view on the question of the priority of Mark over Matthew or *vice versa* may probably be conjectured by a hint here or there in the subsequent pages. Substantially, however, my argument abstracts from that issue and has force both for those who accept and for those who reject the dependence of Matthew on Mark.

I

Preliminary: Luke's Dependence on Mark

As a preliminary to the examination of the relation between Luke and Matthew in the so-called "Q" sections, it will be convenient to establish the dependence of the third on the second Gospel. We shall be surveying familiar ground, and employing principles of criticism which will recur in our main study.

We begin with the following three sets of data:

(1) Of Mark's subject-matter, 90 per cent is found also in Matthew and rather more than half in Luke; and the language of the Matthaean and Lucan parallels to Mark is very largely identical with that of Mark himself.

(2) In any average section occurring in all three, the majority of the actual words used by Mark are found also in the other two, either alternately or both together, whereas the other two only rarely agree together *against Mark.*

(3) The relative order of incidents and sections in Mark is in general found also in both Matthew and Luke; rarely do they *both* show a different order from Mark's.[1]

The importance of the facts summarized under these headings will be better appreciated if it is remembered that St. John's Gospel rarely agrees in subject-matter or language with any of the other three, until we come to the Passion, and even there he is further removed from them all than any of them is from the other two.

What explanation can be offered of these phenomena? We have to suppose either a literary or an oral connection between the first three Gospels. And a purely oral theory breaks down, or becomes for practical purposes hardly distinguishable from its rival, when it is reflected that the independent utilization of an oral tradition, even if it could have led to such remarkable identities as the evidence in fact discloses, should have left us with a roughly equal number of agreements between Matthew

[1] This summary follows, in part, the wording of B. H. Streeter, The Four Gospels, p. 151.

and Luke as against Mark with the number of agreements of each of the other two with Mark against the third. So far is this from being the case that eminent scholars have maintained that ALL the agreements of the first and third against the second Gospel in genuine 'Marcan' passages are to be explained away by accident or textual error, or by the influence of some other document or tradition. To salvage the oral theory in face of the facts, it would be necessary to hold that the tradition, while still in the oral stage, branched off in various directions and diversified itself in just such a way as we maintain that the *written* tradition has branched. There would be small ground for preferring an oral hypothesis on these terms, and even in this form it could not stand its ground against the evidence of repeated modifications that cry out to be interpreted as having been done upon a *text*, not upon an oral tradition.

We may, therefore, accept as a working hypothesis at this stage, and the course of our studies will give this hypothesis virtual certainty, the view that there is literary connection between the first three Gospels. Not only so, but we may accept the position that is current among nearly all the great non-Catholic students of the problem since Lachmann, and agree that there is no need to suppose that the real link between the three Synoptic Gospels is an earlier edition of Mark, the conjectural Ur-Marcus. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda.*

In that case, we are forced to conclude that Mark is the 'intermediary' between Matthew and Luke in those sections of their works which we may describe for convenience, and without prejudice, as the 'Marcan tradition.' What does this conclusion mean, in plain English? It means that we have to choose between three alternative explanations of the data, all three equally consistent with the evidence alleged above: Either (1) Matthew was copied by Mark, and Mark was copied by Luke, or (2) Mark was copied independently by the other two, or (3) Luke was copied by Mark, and Mark by Matthew. The data in question neither prove nor point to a decision between these options. It is a most regrettable fact that great scholars have expressed themselves as though these data themselves pointed to the second rather than to the first or the third

solution. Thus in reference to the second head of data, Streeter says: 'This is clear evidence of the greater originality of the Marcan version' (The Four Gospels, p. 161). Of course it is nothing of the sort. It *is* clear evidence that *one* of the three above-mentioned solutions is correct; and it is clear evidence of nothing else that is relevant to our present enquiry.

Plainly, then, we have to look elsewhere for the proof that Luke used Mark and not *vice versa*. It is customary, at about this stage of the discussion, to point, for example, to the superior literary qualities of Luke's style, to the impression gained from a sympathetic reading of Mark that he is reporting the spoken word, and to the occasions on which Luke's variations from Mark can be explained as due to a desire to avoid misunderstanding or offence. Such arguments are not negligible, but our position would become much more secure if we could base it on actual literary evidence, in the very wording and composition of Luke, which betrayed him as using Mark as his source. An attempt to reach such a basis will occupy most of the remaining pages of this chapter.

(4) After the Baptism and Temptation narratives, where the presence of "Q" material [2] complicates the issue, Mark and Luke begin to run parallel at Mark i 21 = Luke iv 31, the preaching in the synagogue of Capharnaum and the healing of a demoniac there. In Mark this passage is preceded by the call of Simon, Andrew, James and John; but in Luke by our Lord's preaching at Nazareth and its sequel. Thus the dependent writer has omitted an incident from his source and substituted another, the substituted one being similar to an incident occurring at a later point in the source (Luke v 1–11 or Mark vi 1–6) and duly omitted by the borrower when he reaches it in his source.

Which is the borrower in this case? Probably Luke, for the following reasons: (*a*) Luke iv 38 f. = Mark i 29–31 shows our Lord already at home with Simon, which is quite in order in Mark (who has already described Simon's call in the episode to which Luke's parallel comes later on), but is unexpected in Luke, who only describes a 'call' of Simon in the next chapter.

[2] I use this phrase without prejudice.

(At Luke iv 42 f. = Mark i 35–38 Luke lacks a reference to Simon which Mark gives — if Luke is the borrower he perhaps felt that such a mention would be incongruous *immediately* before his description of Simon's 'call,' and therefore substituted vague 'crowds' for Mark's 'Simon and those with him.'

(*b*) Again, it is remarkable that, though our Lord's work at Capharnaum is first specifically mentioned by Luke himself at iv 31 ff., nevertheless the people at Nazareth are, at iv 23, already supposed by our Lord to know from report of great things done by him in the former city. Thus we have in Luke two signs of dislocation: Simon mentioned as our Lord's host before his 'call' has been described; and miracles at Capharnaum referred to before our Lord's connection with that city has been mentioned. It is more likely that the 'literary' St. Luke involved himself in such difficulties, partly through a desire to throw the Nazareth episode into the foreground for its symbolic value, than that the rough and ready St. Mark noticed the dislocations, succeeded in rectifying them, and was in consequence able to insert the reference to Simon at i 36.

(5) The Sadducees' question about the woman who had had seven husbands is followed in Mark (xii 28–34) by a scribe's question: 'What is the first commandment,' and this again by our Lord's question about the Son of David (xii 35–37, Luke xx 41–44). Luke, who is with Mark for the Sadducees' question (Luke xx 27–40), has not the 'first commandment' question in this context, but has a similar episode at x 25–28 in a non-Marcan context. Thus, at Mark xii = Luke xx either Mark is secondary, and has inserted the 'first commandment' question into his Lucan context; or Luke is secondary, and has omitted the question from his Marcan context:

Mark xii 27–34:

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων. πολὺ πλανᾶσθε. καὶ προσελθὼν εἷς τῶν γραμματέων, ἀκούσας αὐτῶν συνζητούντων, ἰδὼν ὅτι καλῶς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς, ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτόν· ποία ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη πάντων; . . .
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεύς· καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπ'ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι . . . καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη, εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐκέτι ἐτόλμα αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι.

Luke xx 38–40:

θεὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νεκρῶν ἀλλὰ ζώντων. πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν. ἀποκριθέντες δέ τινες τῶν γραμματέων εἶπαν· διδάσκαλε, καλῶς εἶπας. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐτόλμων ἐπερωτᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδέν.

It seems easier to suppose that Luke has telescoped a Marcan passage here, having for some reason determined to omit the 'first commandment' question, than that Mark has inserted an episode into his Lucan context, and yet succeeded in building the contents of Luke xx 39 *into the body of the inserted episode*, to which episode it is in part necessary. (Luke's motive in omitting the episode can only be conjectured: he may have already inserted, or intended to insert, Luke x 25–28 at the point where it now stands, and have wished to avoid a 'doublet.' Or he may have judged the Jewish character of the problem and of the scribe's interest in 'holocausts and sacrifices' to be out of harmony with his own more universal tone. Note that, presumably in consequence of the omission, 'one of the scribes' becomes, in Luke xx 39, 'some of the scribes' — a vague generalization, like 'the crowds' in place of 'Simon and those with him' at iv 42. Vagueness, when combined with other evidence, is often a sign of secondariness.)

A study of the similar Lucan incident, x 25–28, tends to confirm this conclusion. In that passage a lawyer tempts our Lord, saying: *Master, by doing what shall I inherit eternal life?* Asked what is written in the Law, he replies with the twofold precept

of charity, and our Lord then says: *Thou hast answered rightly; this do and thou shalt live.* It is rather hard to believe that this is not the same incident as the Matthaean-Marcan 'first commandment' question. But plainly, if there is literary connection as well as factual identity, the Matthew-Mark version is the more original; the question whether there is an order of importance in the precepts of the Law is in Jewish 'style,' and the addition of the 'second' precept is in perfect keeping. We may conclude that Luke's 'By doing what shall I inherit eternal life' (bleaching out the special Jewish coloring) is a reminiscence of his own words or Mark's at Luke xviii 18 = Mark x 17 (the rich man who was bidden to sell his property and follow our Lord). And we can now go a step further:

Mark xii 34:	Luke x 28:
ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὅτι νουνεχῶς ἀπεκρίθη εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐ μακρὰν εἶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.	εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ· ὀρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης· τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ.

Here again it is Luke who does the borrowing, though he changes 'thou art not far,' etc. into 'this do and thou shalt live,' in order to balance his previous substitution of 'By doing what shall I inherit eternal life,' for 'What is the first commandment.'

Incidentally, we gain fresh insight into Luke's editorial methods. It is at first disconcerting that he makes the *lawyer*, not our Lord, combine the two precepts of charity. (They are, of course, quite separate in the Pentateuch, and it is reasonable to hold that their combination was first effected by our Lord Himself. The passages in the apocryphal Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs to which appeal may be made against this view: Issachar v 2, vii 6, Dan v 3, Benjamin iii 3–5, are regarded by Lagrange as due to Christian interpolation, an element which is not absent from our extant texts. Lagrange, Judaisme avant Jésus-Christ, p. 124, n. 4.) But Luke is under the influence of Mark xii 28–34, where the *scribe* himself, *echoing our Lord's words*, says that to love God . . . and one's neighbor as oneself is better than all holocausts and sacrifices.

The passage just discussed has another interest, if our analysis of its relation to Mark is correct; for it shows Marcan influence on a Lucan incident which is not in Marcan context. Luke hardly ever tampers with the Marcan order of incidents when he is copying Mark as his principal source. But he not infrequently shows his knowledge of the second Gospel, even when not directly copying it, by reminiscence of its language. It will be convenient, in this introductory chapter, to draw attention to this reminiscent strand in Luke's composition. Many instances will occur in the subsequent chapters of this essay; here we will content ourselves with three cases in which St. Luke appears to be influenced by reminiscence of *his own* words:

Luke i, 69 f. *ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐλάλησεν διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ'αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ.*

Cf. Acts iv 24 f. *Δέσποτα, . . . ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυεὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών.*

The similarity here can hardly be coincidence. In the following instance it is perhaps less deliberate, and for that reason even more striking:

Luke ix 61 f. *ἀκολουθήσω σοι, κύριε· πρῶτον δὲ ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἀποτάξασθαι τοῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου. εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς· οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπ'ἄροτρον καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω εὐθετός ἐστιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Luke xiv 33–35. *πᾶς . . . ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής· καλὸν οὖν τὸ ἅλα· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅλα μωρανθῇ, ἐν τίνι ἀρτυθήσεται· οὔτε εἰς γῆν οὔτε εἰς κοπρίαν εὔθετόν ἐστιν.*

The idea of the necessity of absolute renunciation [3] has led to the repetition of the same word *εὐθετός* which occurs only once elsewhere in the New Testament (Hebrews vi 7).

Luke xii 14 *τίς με κατέστησεν κριτὴν ἢ μεριστὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς;*
Acts vii 27 *τίς σε κατεστήσεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν;*

[3] *ἀποτάσσεσθαι* Mark 1, Luke 2, Acts 2, Paul 1.

The question in Acts is from St. Stephen's speech at his trial, and is, of course, a quotation from Exodus ii 14. But the similarity of the situation (in Luke our Lord is asked to intervene between two brothers; in Acts Moses says to the two quarrelling Hebrews, 'Men, ye are *brothers*') shows again that there is something more than coincidence here. Cf. also Acts vi 10, iv 14 with Luke xxi 15 (and parallels).

A careful criticism of the Lucan writings must take account of this feature of the psychology of their author. He is one who has pondered his materials, and is full of echoes, intentional or unintentional, of passages that he has used or penned elsewhere, or even of passages which he has read, but has not copied.

(6) A more general argument can be drawn from the lack of clear historical outline in Luke's non-Marcan sections, Luke ix 51–xviii 20 is the longest of these, and Lagrange has said: 'En vain cherche-t-on, dans ces pages, à savoir où on est. . . . La physionomie des acteurs n'est pas moins différente dans cette section. . . . Les apôtres sont nommés une fois' besides a few references to individual apostles, 'mais le pire, c'est qu'ils ne font plus rien' (S. Luc, p. xxxviii). The situation is more indicative than in the case of Matthew's non-Marcan sections. For the long sections of Matthew which are without parallel in Mark are mainly discourse, not narrative, whereas Luke narrates incidents and appears to be taking our Lord by slow degrees from Galilee southwards; but the journey conveys only a blurred image to the mind. In other words, it would seem that without Mark to inform him, Luke's knowledge of the *mise-en-scène* of our Lord's words and actions becomes scanty in the extreme.[4]

(7) There is next an argument from comparison of style. It might be supposed that the dependent document would show traces of the style of its source. Supposing that Luke is the borrower, we are frustrated here by the thoroughness with

[4] "Had we not the far more detailed, if puzzling, notes of place and time given by Mark, we should be totally unable to make out the course of events in order from the meagre indications furnished by Luke." Burkitt in Beginnings of Christianity, ed. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, I i 2, p. 487.

which he has imparted his own — rather complex — style to his materials. There are a few cases of unusual redundance (v 26, xii 6, xx 2, pointed out by Lagrange) which may betray the influence of Mark; and it is perhaps worth observing that there is only one certain occasion (xxii 59, where variety is obtained by the change) where Luke has ἄλλος for his own preference ἕτερος without parallel in Matthew or Mark; hence its occurrence at ix 8, 19 (bis), xx 16, xxiii 35 may suggest his dependence on Mark at these points. But the truth is that Mark's stylistic peculiarities are generally what Luke would consider 'bad style,' and hence would deliberately alter. On the other hand, if Mark were the borrower, he would be more likely to retain, if only by accident, traces of the very characteristic Lucan color of his source. Yet of perhaps one hundred and fifty examples of Lucanism in the Marcan sections of Luke, there are scarcely more than five whose appearance in the parallel passages of Mark could be pressed as significant: ἐγένετο with infinitive Mark ii 23; καθ' ἡμέραν xiv 49; τις with noun xv 21; ὕψιστος twice. So far as they go, these results probably strengthen the case for Mark's priority. And in that case, they are again not without importance for our subsequent argument; they allow us to anticipate that Luke will have imparted his own stylistic coloring to other sources used by him.

(8) The preceding considerations reinforce, and are in turn reinforced by, the arguments from Mark's colloquial, as opposed to Luke's literary, style, and from the comparative inoffensiveness of Luke's version of the parallel passages, to which allusion was made above. We can therefore approach the study of the so-called "Q" sections with a reasonable expectation that, whatever be Luke's source, it will appear in his pages with a Lucan flavor; though as regards style in the narrower sense, we have as yet no reason to suppose that the source of the "Q" sections was of such crude literary quality as Mark must have appeared to Luke to present.

II

Five Crucial Instances

The function of the alleged document "Q," in the Two-Document Hypothesis, is to serve as a source for those passages of Matthew and Luke in which their similarities cannot be accidental, and cannot be explained by the mediation of Mark. Most of these passages have little or nothing to correspond to them in the text of Mark, but in four instances the existence of a parallel in Mark (which, however, cannot explain all the points of resemblance between Matthew and Luke in these four passages), has led Streeter to infer that here Mark and "Q" *each* had its version of the incident or teaching, and that whereas Luke has followed only the "Q" version, Matthew has fused it with Mark's. It is the contention of the present chapter that Streeter's explanation is unnatural, and that the evidence points in the direction of a direct literary connection, in these passages and in one other, between Matthew and Luke. In passing, I may state that I assume that "Q" is conceived to be a written, not an oral, source, and to have been in the Greek tongue when it was used by Matthew and Luke. No other assumption will do justice to the minuteness of the numerous similarities or identities. But did "Q" ever exist?

(1) A fairly simple case:

Mark iv 30–32:	Matthew xiii 31–33:	Luke xiii 18–21:
καὶ ἔλεγεν· πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν; ὡς κόκκῳ σινάπεως ὃς ὅταν σπαρῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅταν σπαρῇ, ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται μεῖζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων, καὶ ποιεῖ κλάδους μεγάλους, ὥστε δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῦ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατασκηνοῦν.	ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ· ὃ μικρότερον μέν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, ὅταν δὲ αὐξηθῇ, μεῖζον τῶν λαχάνων ἐστιν καὶ γίνεται δένδρον, ὥστε ἐλθεῖν τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατασκηνοῦν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.	ἔλεγεν οὖν· τίνι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τίνι ὁμοιώσω αὐτήν; ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν εἰς κῆπον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ηὔξησεν καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ.
	ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς· ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία, ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον.	καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν· τίνι ὁμοιώσω τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ; ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἔκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία, ἕως οὗ ἐζυμώθη ὅλον.

(Matthew is in the centre column. Dotted underlining indicates agreement with Mark against Luke; full underlining indicates agreement with Luke against Mark. Peculiar to Matthew are the two introductory formulae to his two parables,[5] the 'field' instead of earth or garden, μέν and δέ, 'is' and 'came,' and the first syllable of ἐνέκρυψεν.)

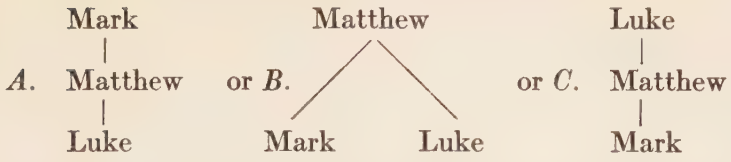
It should be observed that the Lucan passage is from a non-Marcan context; hence Luke's agreement with Mark against Matthew in introducing with a double question is to be explained as reminiscence rather than direct literary utilization. (Similarly, it was probably by reminiscence of Mark iv 26 that Luke wrote ἔβαλεν in this passage.)

On the other hand, we find a measure of identity between Luke and Matthew which points to literary connection, and an unmistakable similarity between Matthew and Mark, which is reinforced by the identity of context; moreover, there are, of course, a few words which are common to all three evangelists.

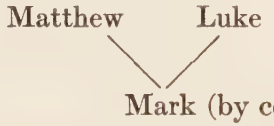
Streeter's explanation of these phenomena is as follows (pp. 246 ff.): '. . . Matthew's parable of the Mustard Seed conflates the versions of Mark and Luke' (Luke here being supposed by Streeter to be more or less pure "Q"; Matthew is, of course, not supposed to have seen Luke, but "Q" itself). 'We see that practically every word in Matthew is drawn from one or other of his two sources. But the differences between the Marcan and Lucan (i.e. the Q) version of the parable are entirely unimportant. They in no way affect the general sense, and no one antecedently would have expected that Matthew would take the trouble to combine the two versions.'

But there is nothing within the limits of this particular instance which makes it either necessary or reasonable to suppose the existence of "Q" at all. The simple and obvious solution of the problem is that Matthew is here the intermediary between Mark and Luke, just as, in the ordinary Marcan tradition passages, Mark is the intermediary between the other two; the same critical principles apply here as there, and they leave us here also with only three natural alternatives:

[5] But cf. his παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν with Mark's ἐν τίνι . . . παραβολῇ θῶμεν;



To import "Q" into the problem is as though one should explain the phenomena of the Marcan tradition (dealt with in the opening pages of I, supra) as follows:



No one with any critical faculty can fail to see that such a solution would be at once grotesque and fatal to the hope of a sane solution of the whole Synoptic Problem. But we cannot obey the laws of criticism when it suits us and neglect them when it does not. The psychological problem why a writer of the intellectual calibre of the author of Matthew should waste his time in patching into a Marcan parable words, from another source, that add nothing of any importance to its meaning, is perhaps no graver an objection to this solution than is the aesthetic problem, how such a process could result in a piece of literature as superior to the two originals from which it is said to be combined as Matthew's version of the parable is superior to Mark's and Luke's in semi-poetic rhythmic flow and cadence. And this result has been achieved with the sacrifice of scarcely a word in either source (so far as we can deduce the wording of "Q" from Luke)!

If, on the other hand, we interpret the critical evidence in a natural critical way, we have next to ask which of the three possible solutions is to be preferred. It is outside the scope of the present study to determine between *A* and *B*; with regard to *C* it must be observed that we have already resigned ourselves to Luke's dependence on Mark in the Marcan tradition. Mark, therefore, existed before Luke was written, and cannot, therefore, derive this parable *from Luke through Matthew*. Adherents of Proto-Luke might suggest that Mark derived it *via*

Matthew from that conjectural parent of Luke, but this possibility will also be excluded if the indications of Luke's dependence on Matthew are allowed to carry weight (for which it will be sufficient here to refer to the rest of this study in general).

We conclude, then, provisionally for the moment, that Luke here derives from Matthew with two reminiscences of Mark. He has changed 'field' into 'garden,' possibly because he was thinking of one individual mustard plant, which he felt would be lost in a field, not of a whole crop. He has omitted the statements that the seed is the smallest of seeds and the plant the greatest of herbs, probably because he dislikes the hyperbole; any sympathetic reading of Luke will disclose his almost scrupulous care for material veracity (this, despite one or two mannerisms of his own, especially his liking for 'all' in place of 'several'). Thus there is, beyond what we find in Matthew or Mark and what seems due to Luke's own proclivities, nothing in him that remains to indicate any distinction between the alleged "Q" and our existing Matthew.

The solitary plausible plea that can be put up for "Q" in this passage is that the Mustard Seed parable in Matthew is considerably longer than its sister parable of the Leaven; a consequence, it might be urged, of the conflation of the Marcan and "Q" versions of the former parable. Unfortunately for this argument, there is a similar, though smaller, disparity in the length of the two parables in Luke also (twenty-seven words against fifteen). We have here a natural phenomenon, whether of psychology or of recording: the first member of a pair gets its full development, the second member can then be treated more sketchily, or else has to be recorded less fully, as the recorder's mind (or pencil) has lagged behind the speaker.

(2)

Mark ix 42:

καὶ ὅς ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων, καλόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν.

Matthew xviii 6 f:

ὃς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ, συμφέρει αὐτῷ ἵνα κρεμασθῇ μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ καταποντισθῇ ἐν τῷ πελάγει τῆς θαλάσσης. οὐαι τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν σκανδάλων· ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα, πλὴν οὐαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δι' οὗ τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχεται.

Luke xvii 1b, f:

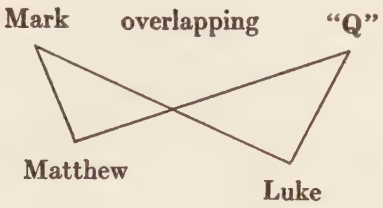
ἀνένδεκτόν ἐστιν τοῦ τὰ σκάνδαλα μὴ ἐλθεῖν, οὐαι δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται· λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα.

(As before, Matthew is in the centre column; dotted underlinings represent agreements with Mark against Luke, heavy underlinings indicate agreements with Luke against Mark. Luke's passage is again in a non-Marcan context, hence we shall regard his three agreements with Mark against Matthew (εἰ, περίκειται, ἔρριπται εἰς cf. βέβληται εἰς) as due to reminiscence.)

Apart from the agreements of Luke and Mark against Matthew, the data here are: (*a*) a very substantial substratum of identity in all three, pointing to literary connection; (*b*) agreements of Matthew and Mark against Luke; (*c*) agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. Here again, then, the natural conclusion is that Matthew is the intermediary, and the solutions open are *A* or *B* or *C* as before; and excluding *C* as in the previous instance we conclude that Luke is dependent on Matthew. It is neither necessary nor desirable to complicate matters by "Q" or any other hypothetical source.

Such a source, in fact, is not only unnecessary, but most embarrassing. For it must be observed, that if Luke is not copying Matthew we have to find some explanation not only for his three agreements with Mark against Matthew (explained above as normal Lucan reminiscence), but of his agreement with *Mark in the whole of verse 2* (explained on our hypothesis as agreement *via* Matthew with reminiscence of Mark). Streeter's explanation is that "Q" probably contained this saying also, which would thus constitute a further over-lapping of "Q" and Mark. To this we reply that the agreement is so nearly verbal that it would by itself almost compel us to assume that Mark had copied "Q" — a conclusion that Streeter would deprecate. We should, therefore, alternatively, have to infer that Luke here indulged not only in reminiscence of Mark, but in actual copying of him in non-Marcan context; and then we run up against Streeter's own very sound dictum that 'while there is no reason to believe that Luke would have religiously avoided introducing an odd saying or a word or two from Mark in his Central Section, yet as a matter of fact he has done so, if at all, to an extent that is practically negligible' (p. 204). We

should further, for the analysis of this one tiny passage, have to accept the following suspiciously symmetrical schema:



Such are the difficulties in which we are involved if we refuse the plain inference that Luke has copied Matthew. That the result is possible is, of course, true — in the same sort of sense that an elaboration of the Ptolemaic hypothesis might have met even the evidence on which Copernicus based his heliocentric system. But I do not see how it can be denied that this one instance constitutes, by itself, a serious *praejudicium* against the Two-Document hypothesis.

In conclusion, it should be noted that τοῦ . . . μὴ ἐλθεῖν is an instance of a characteristic Lucan construction; while ἀνενδεκτόν may be compared with οὐκ ἐνδέχεται in Luke xiii 33 (where there is no Matthaean parallel). λυσιτελεῖ is not found elsewhere in the New Testament, but compare διατελέω and ἀποτελέω, the former peculiar to the Lucan writings, the latter to Luke and Ep. Jas.; the latter word occurs at Luke xiii 32, and it is perhaps not quite fanciful to suggest (in view of his use of ἀνενδεκτόν in our passage) that he has been led, through reminiscence of the οὐκ ἐνδέχεται passage, to use λυσιτελεῖ here. Thus there is nothing in Luke which enables us to distinguish the vocabulary of the alleged "Q" source here from that of Matthew.

(3) The Beelzebub Controversy.

The Beelzebub Controversy

Mark iii 23–30:

Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; καὶ ἐὰν βασιλεία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται σταθῆναι ἡ βασιλεία ἐκείνη. καὶ ἐὰν οἰκία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν μερισθῇ, οὐ δύναται ἡ οἰκία ἐκείνη σταθῆναι. καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς ἀνέστη ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, ἐμερίσθη καὶ οὐ δύναται στῆναι ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει.

ἀλλ' οὐ δύναται οὐδεὶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ εἰσελθὼν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσῃ, καὶ τότε τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.

Matthew xii 25–32:

Εἰδὼς δὲ τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἐρημοῦται, καὶ πᾶσα πόλις ἢ οἰκία μερισθεῖσα καθ' ἑαυτῆς οὐ σταθήσεται. καὶ εἰ ὁ σατανᾶς τὸν σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλει, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐμερίσθη· πῶς οὖν σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν. εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. ἢ πῶς δύναταί τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἁρπάσαι, ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον δήσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν, καὶ τότε

Luke xi 17–23, xii 10:

Αὐτὸς δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὰ διανοήματα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶσα βασιλεία διαμερισθεῖσα ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἐρημοῦται, καὶ οἶκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει.

εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ σατανᾶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν διεμερίσθη, πῶς σταθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ; ὅτι λέγετε ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλειν με τὰ δαιμόνια. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ κριταὶ ἔσονται ὑμῶν.

εἰ δὲ ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.
ὅταν ὁ ἰσχυρὸς καθωπλισμένος φυλάσσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αὐλήν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐστὶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ· ἐπὰν δὲ

ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι, ὅσα ἂν βλασφημήσωσιν· ὃς δ'ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ ἔνοχος ἔσται αἰωνίου ἁμαρτήματος. ὅτι ἔλεγον· πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον ἔχει.

τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ διαρπάσῃ; ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ'ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ' ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει. διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. καὶ ὃς ἐὰν εἴπῃ λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ. ὃς δ'ἂν εἴπῃ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ οὔτε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι οὔτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ ἐπελθὼν νικήσῃ αὐτόν, τὴν πανοπλίαν αὐτοῦ αἴρει, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐπεποίθει, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ διαδίδωσιν. ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ'ἐμοῦ κατ'ἐμοῦ ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ μὴ συνάγων μετ'ἐμοῦ σκορπίζει.

xii 10: Καὶ πᾶς ὃς ἐρεῖ λόγον εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· τῷ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα βλασφημήσαντι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.

(Arrangement and underlinings as before.)

At first glance, the argument for regarding Matthew as a conflation of Mark and "Q" might seem somewhat stronger here; for the dotted underlinings and the heavy ones are not interlaced in the same phrases, but fall, for the most part, into separate groups. But a closer examination again drives us towards the conclusion that Luke is dependent on Matthew.

Luke's passage, as in the two previously considered cases, is in non-Marcan context. Luke had omitted Mark iii 20–35, inserting his Little Interpolation in its place (Matthew's context agrees with Mark's, except that Mark iii 13–19 has its parallel elsewhere in Matthew). We, therefore, take Luke's version, on Streeter's view, as unconflated "Q". Yet its variations from Matthew (apart from two possible reminiscences of Mark: *ἐφ'ἑαυτήν, βλασφημήσαντι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*) are very frequently characteristic 'Lucanisms.' Details:

xi 17 *αὐτός.*
διανοήματα? (cf. Luke's fondness for *κατανοέω*).
διαμερισθεῖσα (Matthew 1, Mark 1, Luke 6; and note Luke's preference, among the Synoptists, for *διά*-compounds).
οἶκος ἐπὶ οἶκον πίπτει? (reminiscence of Mark xiii 2 or Matthew xxiv 2?).
18 *δὲ καί.*
διεμερίσθη.
20 *ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ* (a LXX reminiscence; cf. Exodus viii 19, xxxi 18 Deuteronomy ix 10, Psalms viii 4 = R. V. viii 3. And vid. infra).
21 *φυλάσσῃ.*
εἰρήνῃ.
τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.
22 *ἐπελθών.*
ἐπεποίθει.
διαδίδωσιν.
xii 10 *πᾶς ὅς.*
τῷ εἰς τὸ ἅγ. πν. βλασφημήσαντι.

Thus, whatever his source, Luke has rewritten it, and the vocabulary of the source is indistinguishable from the vocabulary of Matthew.

Turning now to the latter, we find a passage of harmonious literary and logical architecture, superior in both respects to either of its alleged sources: a general principle is given two illustrations and an application (vv. 25 f.); a dilemma is followed by its justification (vv. 27–29), and this by a summary of the argument (v. 30; which I regard as a general principle, stated personally); and the implied conclusion is made the basis of a solemn warning to the Pharisees who have ascribed a work of the Holy Spirit to demonic power. (The ensuing passage, vv. 33–37, carries on the same harmonious line of thought, in similar flowing rhythm; it is without a parallel in Mark, and the Lucan parallel is from a different context.)

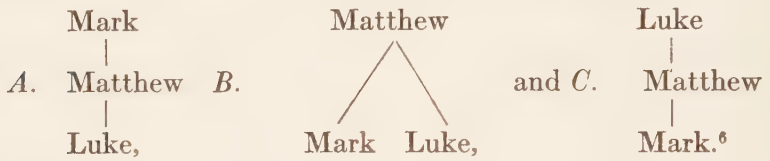
We are asked, then, to believe that to create the first of these harmonious paragraphs (vv. 25 f.) Matthew found, in Mark, precisely what was necessary to insert into the middle of the less impressive "Q" parallel? And that, for the last paragraph, he found his first *ἀφεθήσεται* in Mark, and the last two in "Q"? In that case, we can only say that his two sources completed each other, with a pre-ordained harmony, like the two fragments of a wish-bone. But if not, and since these harmonies are not in Mark, they existed ready-made in "Q" — in other words "Q" was indistinguishable from Matthew in this passage. Let us say that "Q" *was* Matthew.

There are two further observations to be made. (1) Luke xii 10 is a manifest Lucan 'toning down' of a severe saying. (2) The rather unusual *δακτύλῳ θ.* of Luke (explained above as a LXX reminiscence) might seem to some more original than Matthew's *πνεύματι θ.*; the more so, as Luke is fond of *πνεῦμα*, and on our theory he would have rejected it here. But Matthew's *πνεύματι θ.* prepares the way for the warning about blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, a warning proved to be original in this context by its presence in Mark; we are, therefore, justified in taking the previous *πνεύματι θ.* as original also.

In short, this instance, like those already considered, has full claim to be interpreted as another case of Matthew's inter-

mediary position between Mark and Luke; and just as Mark's intermediary position in the Marcan tradition drives us to choose between

so here we are directed by the evidence to choose between



Appendix to no. 3:

As remarked above, when inserting his Little Interpolation Luke omitted Mark iii 20–35, in which section of Mark the passage we have been considering occurs. To the last five verses of this omission (Mark iii 31–35) he has a parallel at Luke viii 19–21; the Matthaean parallel to Mark is Matthew xii 46–50 (by what appears to be an oversight Streeter, p. 161, says that this section occurs, uniquely, in a different context in each Gospel; but reference to Huck's Synopsis will show that Matthew is here in due Marcan context, although he has, immediately before this section, fourteen verses which are not found in Mark). On general principles we should, therefore, expect Streeter to take the Lucan parallel as a witness to "Q".[7]

[6] It should be observed that Luke xi 14–16, immediately preceding the above passage, is compared by Huck with Matthew xii 22–24, which in its turn precedes the Matthaean Beelzebub Controversy. But the real Matthaean parallel to Luke xi 14–16 is Matthew ix 32–34. Assuming "Q", then either Matthew or Luke has appended the Beelzebub Controversy to the wrong member of a pair of doublets.

[7] But Luke viii 19–21, though not in the *same* context as its Marcan parallel, is fitted in between two *other* Marcan passages, and is practically disregarded by Streeter, who fails to note its agreements with Matthew against Mark, and is thus able to treat Matthew's parallel as unconflated Mark.

Indeed, accepting Matthew xii 47 as genuine (it is omitted by B, the first hand of ℵ, etc., and Huck square-brackets; but the omission was probably due to Homoeoteleuton), the natural explanation (*reminiscence* of Mark; literary connection, direct or indirect, with Matthew) will cover Luke here also (allowing, however, that he has substituted τοῦ θεοῦ for τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς; he is much less fond than Matthew of these uses of πατήρ in reference to God). And as usual, to suppose that Matthew has conflated Mark and "Q" would be unnatural and contrary to the canons of Synoptic criticism.

This short section would thus be a strong confirmation of the view here maintained, but for the slight insecurity of Matthew's reading.

(4) Instructions to Missionaries.

The long section of Matthew, ix 35–x 16, forming the first half of a great architectural whole, has partial parallels at no less than three places in Mark and four in Luke, to say nothing of the list of Apostles in Acts. It may thus be considered a Synoptic 'test case.'

We may concentrate our attention on Matthew x 9–14 and parallels, of which there is one in Mark (vi 8–11) and two in Luke (ix 3–5 (*a*), and x 4–11 (*b*)).

Luke ix 3–5 (*a*):

Καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· μηδὲν αἴρετε εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, μήτε ῥάβδον μήτε πήραν μήτε ἄρτον μήτε ἀργύριον, μήτε ἀνὰ δύο χιτῶνας ἔχειν.

καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθητε, ἐκεῖ μένετε καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέρχεσθε.

Mark vi 8–11:

Καὶ παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδόν εἰ μὴ ῥάβδον μόνον, μὴ ἄρτον, μὴ πήραν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν, ἀλλὰ ὑποδεδεμένους σανδάλια, καὶ μὴ ἐνδύσησθε δύο χιτῶνας. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν, ἐκεῖ μένετε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε ἐκεῖθεν.

Matthew x 9–14:

Μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν, μὴ πήραν εἰς ὁδὸν μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας μηδὲ ὑποδήματα μηδὲ ῥάβδον· ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἢ κώμην εἰσέλθητε, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστιν· κἀκεῖ μείνατε ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθητε. εἰσερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ ἡ οἰκία ἀξία, ἐλθάτω ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτήν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ ἀξία, ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστραφήτω.

Luke x 4–11 (*b*):

Μὴ βαστάζετε βαλλάντιον, μὴ πήραν, μὴ ὑποδήματα. μηδένα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀσπάσησθε.

εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν, πρῶτον λέγετε· εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ. καὶ ἐὰν ᾖ ἐκεῖ υἱὸς εἰρήνης, ἐπαναπαήσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἡ εἰρήνη ὑμῶν. εἰ δὲ μήγε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀνακάμψει. ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένετε ἔσθοντες καὶ πίνοντες τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν· ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ. μὴ μεταβαίνετε ἐξ οἰκίας εἰς οἰκίαν. καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν εἰσέρχησθε καὶ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐσθίετε τὰ παρατιθέμενα ὑμῖν καὶ θεραπεύετε τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λέγετε αὐτοῖς· ἤγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ

καὶ ὅσοι ἂν μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξερχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν ἀποτινάσσετε εἰς μαρτύριον ἐπ' αὐτούς.

καὶ ὃς ἂν τόπος μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκούσωσιν ὑμῶν, ἐκπορευόμενοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐκτινάξατε τὸν χοῦν τὸν ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.

καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ δέξηται ὑμᾶς μηδὲ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, ἐξερχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης ἐκτινάξατε τὸν κονιορτὸν ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν ὑμῶν.

βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰς ἣν δ' ἂν πόλιν εἰσέλθητε καὶ μὴ δέχωνται ὑμᾶς, ἐξελθόντες εἰς τὰς πλατείας αὐτῆς εἴπατε· καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν τὸν κολληθέντα ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀπομασσόμεθα ὑμῖν· πλὴν τοῦτο γινώσκετε, ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

Luke (*a*), left-hand column, is in Marcan context, and we are, therefore, justified in regarding it as dependent on Mark. It has, however, some agreements with Matthew against Mark (*μήτε ῥάβδον, εἰς ἣν ἄν, ἐξερχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τὸν κονιορτόν*), and these we shall assume to be influenced by "Q" (on the Two-Document Hypothesis), or by Matthew (on the view maintained in this study). Luke (*b*), on the other hand, right-hand column, is from the sending-forth of the Seventy, and finds its parallel not in Mark, but in the Matthew passage (third column); it has no Marcan reminiscences, but there is possibly one a few verses earlier (x 1 *ἀνὰ δύο*).

The dotted underlinings indicate Matthew's agreements with Mark against Luke (*b*), the heavy underlinings show Matthew's agreements with Luke (*b*) against Mark; for the present we can disregard Luke (*a*), unless for purposes of illustration. There is literary connection between Matthew and Mark, and again between Matthew and Luke (*b*), and as usual the natural view is that Matthew is the intermediary between the other two, whether as having been used independently by each of them, or as having copied one of them and been copied by the other.

Streeter, however, explains the phenomena as resulting from Matthew's conflating Mark and "Q," the contents of the latter's version being discovered in Luke (*b*). He says: 'Mt. x. 5–16 is clearly a conflation of the Q discourse, given by Luke as the Charge to the Seventy, with Mark's discourse on the Mission of the Twelve. Matthew has additional matter both at the beginning and the end . . . but in the central part of his version of the discourse (Mt. x. 9–16*a*) there is hardly a word which is not to be found either in Mk. vi. 7–11 or in Lk. x. 1–12' (p. 190). Again, on page 248, he speaks of this case as an example of 'the almost meticulous care' (not to say miraculous success!) 'with which Matthew conflates Mark and Q . . . the only real additions he has to make are the words "gold" (verse 9) and "Gomorrha" (verse 15). . . . There is another point to notice. The necessity' (a gratuitously self-imposed 'necessity'?) 'of conflating the Marcan and the Q versions has led Matthew entirely to rearrange the order of

the sentences in Q, which we may presume to be preserved in Lk. x. 4 ff.'

Comment is obvious, but almost superfluous. "Q," as an explanation of the Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark, is an entirely unneeded and disturbing element in the case; without it, as has been said above, a natural solution is provided by the normal application of the principles of comparative literary criticism. And such motiveless patchwork composition, as the introduction of "Q" leads us of necessity to attribute to Matthew, is so improbable psychologically as to constitute a grave objection to the Two-Document solution.

If we turn to Luke we find that many of his differences from Matthew can be explained as Lucan stylistic variants (*βαστάζω*, *βαλλάντιον*, *κατά* c. acc., *οἶκος*, *εἰ δὲ μήγε*, *ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν*, *τὰ παρατιθέμενα*, *πλατείας*, *κολληθέντα· ἀπομάσσομαι* does not occur elsewhere in New Testament; but cf. *ἐκμάσσω* Luke 2, John 3 only). But there are a few features of Luke which seem additional to what we find in Matthew ('salute no-one,' [8] 'son of peace,' 'eating and drinking what they provide'; but not 'heal their sick, and tell them The kingdom of God has come nigh unto you,' for this could be got from Matthew x 7 f.). It would be quite reasonable to hold that these traits come from the independent, probably Aramaic, and not improbably oral, source from which St. Luke derived his information about the Mission of the Seventy. That he had a source or sources other than Mark and Matthew (or "Q") is admitted widely (and, of course, by Streeter), and we shall find other cases later on in which it seems not improbable that he either eked out the information thence derived with matter from Matthew, or used Matthew as a guide in the translation of the Aramaic. Such a practice is very different from the interlacing conflation to which Matthew is supposed, on the Two-Document Hypothesis, to have had recourse.

A few words may be added on the wider context (ix 35–x 16) from which the above passage of Matthew is an extract:

(1) Matthew ix 35 is paraphrased, in Lucan style, at Luke viii 1. This assertion will probably be questioned, the verbal

[8] Cf. ii Kings iv 29.

agreements being few; but practically every case of verbal difference proves, on examination, to be a case of characteristic Lucan vocabulary or phrasing.

(2) Matthew ix 37 f. is nearly identical with Luke x 2. Luke x 3 very cleverly anticipates Matthew x 16a, filling the gap caused by Luke's omission of Matthew x 1–8 (from which section, however, he constructed his own verse x 9); after which follows the passage treated at length above. It follows that "Q", if it existed, included at least parts of the *context* of Matthew x 9–15; and so, as regularly, we find it threatening to become indistinguishable from Matthew itself.

(3) In view of the technical discussion carried out above, and of the results to which it points (results which only some very strong compulsion, extraneous to these parallel passages themselves, could impugn), it is worth while to read over the whole section of Matthew (ix 35–x 16), and to allow it to make upon the mind its natural impression of superb, internally coherent, unity. Note how the Mission of the Twelve is represented as a derivation from, and multiplication of, our Lord's own ministry, its motive being His compassion for the multitudes, too numerous for His own immediate activities to touch. The Twelve are, therefore, summoned and empowered, their names being enumerated in a natural parenthesis, and they are told what regions to make for, what to preach and what good works to perform, how *not* to equip themselves for the journey, how to behave in the places they visit, and what will be the fate of those who reject them — a fate analogous to the places which rejected our Lord Himself (cf. xi 20–24). A single rhythm, Semitic rather than Hellenic, pervades the section, and details, some of them easily overlooked, link part with part (cf. ix 35 *πόλεις . . . καὶ . . . κώμας* with x 11 *πόλιν ἢ κώμην*; ix 35 *κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγ. τῆς βασ.* with x 7 *κηρύσσετε . . . ἤγγικεν ἡ βασ.*; ix 35 *θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν* with x 1b; ix 36 *πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα* with x 6 *τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα*; ix 38 *ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ ἐργάτας* with x 10 *ὁ ἐργάτης*; x 1 *ἔδωκεν . . . ἐξουσίαν* with x 8b *δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε*; x 5 *ἀπέστειλεν* with x 16 *ἀποστέλλω*; x 5b with x 10a and 11a). If these signs of unitary composition and homogeneous texture are too little emphasized

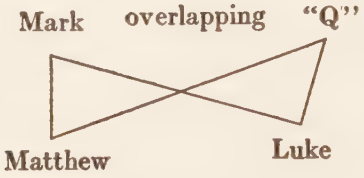
in many studies of the Synoptic problem, it is probably because critics approach Matthew too often with a *parti pris*: dependence on Mark, "Q," and perhaps a special Jerusalem source, is something which they do not discover by a direct scrutiny of his work, but something which *has* to be forced upon him because for other reasons the Two-Document Hypothesis has been accepted. Whether this unity is consistent with Matthew's dependence on Mark is not here in question, but it is hardly too much to say that to explain it as produced by a *combination* of three Marcan passages, a "Q" passage being fused with one of them in the way suggested by Streeter, with perhaps a few verses from some third source, is, in the strict sense of the word, preposterous. (Contrast with this impression of unity, harmony and logic, the Lucan passage Luke x 1–12; where the disciples are first brought to a *house*, then reference is made to their arrival at a *city*; and they are then to *eat* in a *city*; this seems to me clumsy, and the sort of thing we might expect to be produced by the editing of a source — it recalls the dislocations Luke brought upon himself when he substituted the Preaching at Nazareth for the call of Simon and his partners (see I supra).)

(5) Our fifth crucial instance is Luke x 25–28, concerning the dual precept of charity, a passage we have already discussed in I (p. 243 ff.), where an attempt was made to indicate its dependence on Mark xii 28–34, though it is not in Marcan context. But it has also, according to the ordinary texts, the following links with Matthew xxii 34–40 (the Matthaean parallel to Mark xii 28–34): νομικός, (ἐκ)πειράζων, διδάσκαλε, ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. ἐν (three times for Mark's ἐξ) may also be the right reading, in which case it is an additional agreement with Matthew; though it would not be impossible to explain it as derived from 1 Kings xxiii 25.

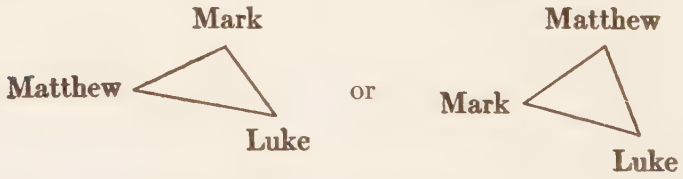
Streeter's treatment of this instance (p. 320) is instructive. He suggests the excision of νομικός from Matthew, on the grounds that elsewhere in the Gospels the word is only found in Luke, and that it is omitted from Matthew here by 1 & c., e, Syr. S., Arm., Orig. Mt.; and διδάσκαλε from Luke on the

strength of its omission by D and by Marcion as quoted by Tertullian.

There is something to be said for the former of these surgical operations, though the appellation *νομικός* is highly appropriate in view of the question submitted to our Lord by His questioner. The second excision, however, would be a surrender of the principles of textual criticism to the exigencies of the Two-Document Hypothesis. And since, even then, we are left with (*ἐκ*)*πειράζων*, *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ*, *ἐν*(?) as agreements of Luke and Matthew against Mark, besides their agreement in omitting the quotation of Deuteronomy vi 4 *ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν*, it will be better to take this instance as a true parallel to the four already examined in this section, the main difference being that, in this case, Luke betrays a closer dependence on Mark than on his second source (whether "Q" or Matthew). Thus, on the Two-Document Hypothesis, the solution will be



It is obviously more natural to drop the fictitious "Q" and explain by Luke's dependence on Matthew:



(Note that the non-Marcan context of the Lucan passage is itself an argument for supposing *some* second source, besides Mark, for it; since, as is acknowledged, Luke habitually retains his substantial Marcan borrowings in Marcan context. But it is not impossible that Luke knew the incident in Aramaic (oral) dress.)

The evidence of the five instances here reviewed is concordant and impressive. It cannot be denied that, taken by itself, it points very clearly in the direction of Luke's dependence on Matthew, and the very least that can be said of it is that it suggests a rigorous scrutiny of the arguments, extraneous to these passages, upon which the "Q" hypothesis has been advocated. To this scrutiny the next section will be directed.

III

The Case for "Q"

The following list probably includes most of the broad reasons that have led scholars to reject the hypothesis of Luke's dependence on Matthew:

(1) Examination of the "Q" sayings in their contexts in Luke and Matthew shows that 'there is not a single case in which Matthew and Luke agree in inserting the same saying at the same point in the Marcan outline.' (Streeter, p. 183.)

(2) If Luke had seen Matthew, why does he almost always follow Mark, to the exclusion of Matthew, for incidents where both his sources are available?

(3) 'Sometimes it is Matthew, sometimes it is Luke, who gives a saying in what is clearly its more original form.' (Streeter, p. 183.)

(4) Whence does Matthew get all his non-Marcan material, if not in part at least from "Q"?

(5) How explain the Matthaean doublets, and their distribution in Matthew, except on the "Q" hypothesis?

(6) It is widely held that Matthew is, if anything, later in date than Luke.

(7) What were the Logia, of which Papias speaks in a famous fragment, if not "Q"?

(1) This argument, as here formulated, is, to the present writer, little short of extraordinary. Streeter himself (p. 167) has made the felicitous observation that, half-a-dozen or so odd verses apart, Marcan and non-Marcan material alternate in

Luke in great blocks. Or to put the matter another way, Luke is quite prepared to *rewrite* his Marcan source in accordance with his own conception of literary style. But he keeps, with the rarest exceptions (the Transfiguration is one of these, and there his additions are not apparently from "Q"), to the principle of preserving the Marcan *material* intact. He had a task of no little difficulty: to compile a Gospel from several different sources of information. Mark presented him with an extremely useful, coherent framework of incident, with some suggestion of historical sequence. It was the most natural thing in the world to decide that his *remaining* material (with the exception, of course, of the Infancy Narrative and incidents of the Passion and of Eastertide, which placed themselves), material which was mainly teaching, but included also a few isolated miracle stories, must be put together into great blocks which should be inserted at selected junctures of the Marcan framework. The result is, as Mr. Jameson puts it, that '*Luke does not attempt to insert his "Q" matter into the Markan context at all.*' Hence, *cadit quaestio*; the substance of this difficulty, so far as it remains such, is included in the second plea for "Q":

(2) Why does Luke take Mark's Gospel for his outline, instead of taking Matthew?

We are here in the region of hypothesis. It is, however, reasonable to suggest that Luke's intentions expanded in the course of composition. (Streeter believed similarly that there were two stages in the writing of the third Gospel: Proto-Luke, followed by Luke. Obviously, this is not the *same* view as that suggested here.) He meant originally to use Mark and his own special material. But the meagreness, at many points, of his special sources at length persuaded him to go through Matthew, gleaning from it elements that were unrepresented, or only fragmentarily represented, in Mark. It was not his intention to use these gleanings on his Marcan sections — *they* satisfied him as they stood. We have, therefore, to explain why he *originally* intended to neglect Matthew, and again we can only answer conjecturally. But there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Matthew seemed intractable for his purposes, precisely because it was a highly elaborate unified literary

whole; whereas Mark is little more than an unliterary record, so conveniently short that, with the help of some excisions, it could be rewritten as the backbone of a Gospel which was to include the treasure collected by St. Luke during his two years' stay in Palestine. Moreover, an author with sufficient taste to recognize the unique and intangible value of the source (literary or oral) incorporated in the opening chapters of Luke may well have been capable of realizing the peculiar worth of the Petrine record, and he may have thought that he was preserving for posterity something that was only too likely to perish by itself.

There is, of course, another explanation that has been put forward: it has been suggested that Luke did not get possession of a copy of Matthew till his own Gospel was, except for the "Q" passages, somewhere near completion. This is a suggestion to which the Two-Document school has, in a sense, no very convincing reply, since it denies the influence of Matthew on the Marcan sections of Luke. Such a denial, however, puts a grave strain on critical principles, especially textual critical principles, and can hardly be justified once we admit, as it is in this study argued that we ought to admit, that there is Matthaean influence in Luke at all.

(3) For the third plea to carry weight, two things are necessary: first, that we should be fairly clear about the greater originality of the Lucan form of the saying, and secondly that we should be reasonably sure that the instance is one where there is genuine literary connection between the two forms of the saying. It will be admitted that although there are numerous cases of such similarity as to preclude independent tradition, there may often have been variant versions, or translations, of Dominical sayings circulating in the early Church. Thus it may be argued that the Lucan parable of the Great Supper is an independent tradition, colored in Luke by the influence of Matthew (or "Q"), of the same parable as appears, in Matthew, as the Wedding Feast. Again, the incident of the Centurion's Servant is told much more fully in Luke than in Matthew; but that Luke is conflating Matthew (or "Q") with some other source appears in his variation from δοῦλος to

παῖς. It should be noticed that there is a great difference between this attribution of conflation to Luke and the allegation of conflation as the explanation of those passages where Matthew is intermediary between Luke and Mark. For not only, in the case of the Centurion Servant incident, have we positive evidence in Luke's *language* of the conflation alleged, but the *method* of conflation attributed to him is a sensible method of combining the *substance* of two substantially different versions, not the incredible trick of invisibly fusing, for no assignable or imaginable reason, the *wording* of two substantially identical accounts. It is a question of critical intelligence to recognize this distinction.

How weak this argument from the alleged greater originality of Lucan "Q" passages is, may be appreciated by a glance at the ten expressions in Matthew which, according to Harnack, are less original:

(*a*) iv 5, 'The Holy City' (Luke 'Jerusalem'). But it is more reasonable to hold that Luke cut out the Jewish phrase than that Matthew inserted it.

(*b*) xxiii 23, 'these things ought you to have done and not to leave the others undone'; the phrase is omitted by D, b, Marcion, from the Lucan parallel passage. But Huck (ed. 6) and Souter both keep it in Luke.

(*c*) v 48 'perfect' (cf. Luke vi 36 'merciful'; on this passage see below, the discussion of the Great Sermon. It would be difficult to prove that we have not here two independent versions; if not, the probability is that Luke has eased down Matthew's wording).

(*d*) v 32, xix 9 'except on account of fornication,' not represented in Luke. The text of these passages is examined in the section on the Great Sermon below. In brief, the solution is that 'to put away your wife' means, in Matthew, to deprive her of her rights and privileges as such. In Greek, the passage as it stands in Matthew is liable to misunderstanding, and both Mark and Luke have tried to make it clear that Christian marriage is indissoluble.

(*e*) v 3 'poor in spirit' — Luke has simply 'poor.' Luke attaches great importance to the idea of the Holy Spirit, and

naturally dislikes the sound of a phrase which appears to approve of deficiency in spiritual endowment.

(*f*) xxiii 34 lacks 'thus spake the wisdom of God,' which is found in the Lucan parallel, and — it was suggested — refers to an uncanonical work which Matthew prefers not to recognize. But neither Lagrange nor Professor Creed in his recent commentary on St. Luke is inclined to admit this interpretation of the phrase; it may either be a periphrasis for our Lord, the Wisdom and Power of God as St. Paul designates him, or it may mean 'God in his wisdom,' with a reference to such passages as 2 Chronicles xxiv 19 ff.

(*g*) and (*h*) 'Father in heaven' and 'for my sake' are due to Christian doctrinal development. One may be forgiven for doubting it! And even if they were, it would be hard to show that this development could not have occurred by the time the first Gospel was written. On the other hand, their absence from Luke cannot show that they were not in his source.

(*i*) Matthew xviii 15 shows, it is urged, a disciplinary rule of such elaboration that it cannot have found place in the source of the common matter of Matthew and Luke. It may suffice to refer to the discussion of this passage and its Lucan parallel below p. 304. It is a striking evidence of Luke's secondary character.

(*j*) The mention of the crucifixion before Christ's death shows the secondary character of Matthew, according to Harnack. Here again, it is simply not true that such a mention must be unhistorical; nor is it at all impossible that Luke might omit it when editing his source.

If the reader will trouble to weigh these arguments against the manifold indications of Luke's direct debt to Matthew in the "Q" passages and the influence in his Gospel of non-"Q" passages of Matthew, it should become clear that "Q" is an untenable hypothesis, if only because it is unnecessary. Strong arguments are needed for inventing a document to explain Synoptic phenomena, and it must be admitted that strong arguments cannot be found for "Q."

(4) Since "Q" is not usually invoked as the source of *all* that is non-Marcan in Matthew, we need not concern ourselves here

with the problem of his sources of information. The question supposes, moreover, that Matthew is dependent on Mark, a supposition which the present essay deliberately refrains from either making or denying.

(5) The distribution of the Matthaean doublets, of which one member often occurs in a Marcan and another in a "Q" passage, may be urged as an argument in favor of the Two-Document Hypothesis. To this we may, in the first place, reply with Mr. H. G. Jameson's argument that this distribution fails even to indicate the use of Mark itself: 'Of the 38 components (of the nineteen doublets) 16 occur in "Markan" portions of Matthew, and 22 in "non-Markan." This being (admittedly) so, then, if the arrangement is due to pure chance, a simple mathematical calculation will show that *the most probable* distribution of the nineteen doublets must be, that three of them will have both component members in "Markan" portions, that six will have both members in "non-Markan" portions, and that ten will have one member in a "Markan" and the other in a "non-Markan" portion. But this is *exactly* the arrangement which is actually found to exist!' [9]

Mr. Jameson's argument is, of course, not final, for it does not explain why there should be sixteen members in the Marcan, twenty-two in the non-Marcan, parts of Matthew. But it may serve as a warning of the danger of rushing to conclusions based on a superficial view. There is an explanation of the doublets which does not entail the supposition of different sources: it is possible that Matthew repeated himself, through the exigencies of composing a Gospel from his own notes of the sayings and events of our Lord's life. Some such explanation is suggested by a study of x 22 cf. xxiv 9, x 38 cf. xvi 24, x 39 cf. xvi 25, xii 39 cf. xvi 4. While such an explanation is possible, we may be excused for refusing to regard the argument from the doublets as settling without further enquiry the "Q" question.

(6) The reasons for holding that Matthew is later than Luke are mainly of a 'higher critical' character. They are, further,

[9] The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels, p. 102.

in conflict with the literary-critical arguments adduced for the priority of Matthew to Galatians and 1 and 2 Thessalonians.[10] So far as these arguments go, the hypothesis of Luke's dependence on Matthew can rest secure.

(7) The Logia, said by Papias to have been composed by St. Matthew, have served as an external support for the "Q" hypothesis. But it is a matter of controversy what the word Logia here means, and the view that it means the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew has for it the support of Professor Bacon, to mention only one eminent name in recent Gospel scholarship.

IV

The Secondary Character of Luke

The primary result of the discussions in II was to exhibit Matthew as intermediary between Mark and Luke in those passages where Mark and "Q" overlap. "Q" therefore stands for direct contact between Matthew and Luke, and the question arises, Which is the borrower? The answer has been anticipated in II, and I content myself here with indicating a few additional lines of argument, before passing on to a comparison of the Matthaean and Lucan versions of the Great Sermon.

(1) The Temptations (Matthew iv 1–11–Luke iv 1–13, disregarding the Marcan elements).

The Lucan version is markedly 'Lucan' in style, so far as it diverges from Mark and Matthew; e.g. πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὑπέστρεψεν, πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου[11] κτλ. This distinctive Lucan coloring is absent from Matthew, and it is not very plausible to suggest that Matthew has succeeded in purging it out and substituting his own coloring. Further καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν is misplaced in Luke, but rightly placed in Matthew.

[10] Chapman, Rev. Bénédictine, 1912. Orchard, Biblica, Jan., 1938.

[11] A New Testament ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. LXX has στιγμή of time, but Luke's addition of χρόνου links his phrase directly with cultured Hellenistic usage. The phrase goes back, apparently, at least to Demetrius of Phalerum, and the use of στιγμή for a moment of time derives from Simonides or earlier. The Latin 'punctum temporis' (Terence and classical) is probably a translation. The Greek phrase turns up again in a quotation by Plutarch. It is a typical Lucan 'elegance.'

Luke's omission of the high mountain may be interpreted either way; but it is noteworthy that Luke has no feature beyond what is due to Matthew or to Lucan idiosyncrasy (e.g. πλήρης πν. ἁγίου). Scholars differ as to which preserves the original order of the temptations, but Luke's order enables him, as usual, to take our Lord straight from Jerusalem to Galilee; in other words, a literary explanation is at hand if we suppose that he has transposed Matthew's order.

(2) Preaching of St. John the Baptist (Matthew iii 7–12 cf. Luke iii 7–18).

Luke's καὶ (ἡ ἀξίνη) is a literary refinement (cf. iii 12, 14). His ἄρξησθε may seem more Semitic than Matthew's δόξητε, but Luke is quite capable of introducing a Semitism into his source.[12] Luke iii 10–16a breaks into the Semitic rhythm with a piece of plain prose. Note too that we want to know more about the urgency (ἤδη); Matthew forthwith explains, but Luke breaks the thought sequence (note the Lucan style of Luke iii 15).

(3) 'Characteristic forms of parallelism standing in Matthew . . . are so modified in Luke as to destroy their form. The substance of the saying is there, but not its characteristically Semitic form of presentation.' (Burney, Poetry of our Lord, pp. 87 f.) Cf. Luke vi 35b, 40, xi 2–4, 34, xii 51, xiii 34 f., xvi 13, 16 with the Matthaean parallels. On the other hand, Luke vi 27 f., 45, xii 5, xvii 33 may appear to have Semitic rhythm unexplained by the Matthaean parallels. (If the end of the Sermon on the Level Place is simply a literary parallel to Matthew vii 24–28, Luke has practically rewritten his source in prose.)

(4) Similarly, a "Q" passage often adheres indissolubly by internal links to its context in Matthew, but hangs comparatively in the air, or has only external links, in Luke; e.g. no. (2) supra. In Luke x 13–15 the 'Woe to Chorazin,' etc. is mutilated by the omission of all after 'Thou shalt be brought down to Hades.' Luke, whose judgment or ear favored Greek prose rhythms rather than those of Semitic quasi-poetry, brings us to earth with the effect of a rhetorical anti-climax:

[12] Cf. e.g. Syriacisms in St. Luke, Dom H. Connolly, Journal of Theological Studies, Oct. 1936, pp. 374 ff. See also Lagrange *ad hunc locum*.

> . . . thou shalt be brought down to Hades. He that hears you hears me, and he that rejects you rejects me. But he that rejects me rejects him that sent me.

So too the famous sequel to the 'Cry of Jubilation' Matthew xi 25–27 = Luke x 21 f.: 'Come unto me,' etc. is omitted by Luke. Yet its relevance to the context is easily recognized if it be remembered that the 'wise and prudent' are typically the scribes and Pharisees who (Matthew xxiii 4 cf. Luke xi 46) *bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders*; whereas the burden of those who *learn* from the only Revealer of the Heavenly Father is a *light burden.*

(5) In general, it may be pointed out again that since Luke used Mark the dependence of Matthew on Luke is excluded by the overlapping Mark-"Q" passages (where it would involve posteriority of Mark to Luke) — unless indeed we hypothesize a proto-Luke used by Matthew before it was combined with Marcan material to form the present Luke. But there is Marcan influence in the non-Marcan ('proto-Luke') parts of Luke, and the hypothesis thus becomes complicated and unattractive.

The following sections will give further substance to these points, and it will be seen how the evidence converges to prove not merely direct connection between Matthew and Luke, but the priority of the former.

V

The Great Sermon

Luke's Sermon is a matter of 30 verses (vi 20–49), Matthew's of 107 (v 3–vii 27). But they are the same sermon. Each begins with Beatitudes and ends with the simile of the two houses; and there is hardly anything (the Woes and about three longish verses) in Luke's version that is not paralleled in Matthew's.

Matthew's Sermon forms an integral part of his Gospel considered as an architectural whole. The first group of disciples has been called, and a general description given of the popular movement of which Jesus was the centre. 'Many crowds followed him from Galilee and Decapolis and Jerusalem and

Judaea and beyond the Jordan.[13] And seeing the crowds he went up into the mountain; and when he was set his disciples came to him. And opening his mouth he taught them saying. . . .' Thus the sermon is addressed not to 'crowds' but to the disciples, and it proves to be a manifesto of the new religion with special reference to Judaism.

Luke's Sermon introduces the Little Interpolation. It is preceded by some editorial manipulation, Luke having for once in a way inverted the order of two sections of Mark (Mark iii 13–19, iii 7–12 = Luke vi 12–16, vi 17–19). This inversion enables Luke to identify the Mountain of Mark iii 13 with that of Matthew v 1, while by placing here the choosing of the Twelve he provides a suitable Inner Circle for the sermon. He puts the sermon on a Level Place, because a mountain 'a simple mountain was to him' and, therefore, not very congenial for sermon purposes (for Matthew it was perhaps 'the hill country'); and Luke wants the sermon to be addressed to a wider audience than the disciples, though it begins with a passage specially directed to them. How 'editorial' he is being in all this can be seen by comparing Luke vi 17 with its Marcan original iii 7: Luke presents (1) a crowd of disciples, and (2) much multitude of the people; this division corresponds with vi 20 'lifting up his eyes upon his disciples' and vi 27 'But to you which hear I say' (cf. vi 17 'who came *to hear* him'); Mark has no such distinction between 'people' and 'disciples' in this passage.

Turning to the sermon itself, let us now enumerate some traces in Luke of the Matthaean original:

(1) vi 23 *ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* cf. Matthew v 12. *μισθός* occurs ten times in Matthew, once in Mark, once in John and once in Acts. In Luke, besides this instance, it occurs at vi 35 — where its presence can again be explained by the context of the Matthaean parallel v 46 — and at x 7 where, curiously enough, it represents Matthew's *τροφῆς* (Matthew x 10b); but Matthew's *τροφή* ('sustenance') is more fitted to that context than *μισθός* ('hire'). What has happened is that

[13] An enumeration from a Galilaean standpoint. Luke's at vi 17 is from a world-wide viewpoint.

Luke has there substituted *μισθός* from Matthew xx 8 (the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard) where the *laborers* are to be given their *hire* — this is a normal instance of Lucan reminiscence, valuable as showing his knowledge of Matthew outside the limits of their common contexts. (Luke has changed 'heavens' to 'heaven,' but then he only has the plural four times in all.)

(2) vi 25 *ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.* An interesting case, from the Woes. The Woes are, of course, absent from Matthew, and Luke probably had no *Greek* source for them. His word for 'receiving' would normally have been *ἀπολαμβάνω* (in this sense Matthew 0, Mark 0, Luke 5, Jo 0); cf. xvi 25, where the *Rich Man* (cf. here 'Woe to you *rich*') is told: *ἀπέλαβες τὰ ἀγαθά σου ἐν τῇ ζώῃ σου, καὶ Λάζαρος ὁμοίως τὰ κακά· νῦν δὲ ὧδε παρακαλεῖται, σὺ δὲ ὀδύνασαι.* But Matthew has *ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν* three times in the sermon (nowhere else in Gospels or Acts has the verb this sense); it is, therefore, the influence of Matthew's sermon that has here deflected Luke from the (to him) more obvious *ἀπολαμβάνω.*

(3) vi 27 *Ἀλλ' ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.* Here our Lord seems to address no longer only the disciples, but the 'much multitude of the people who came to hear him.' One cannot but feel the 'editorial' character of this transition; there is no very striking contrast of depth or content in the two sets of teaching. It is, therefore, of considerable interest to compare the Matthaean parallel v 43 f.: *ἠκούσατε ὅτι ἐρρέθη· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου. ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.* Luke has dropped the reference to the Law in accordance with his usual practice of bleaching out points of special Jewish interest, but his *τοῖς ἀκούουσιν* (cf. *ἠκούσατε*) betrays his indebtedness, coming as it does at the very point where he resumes his use of Matthew.

(4) Luke, in the same passage as that just discussed, inserts two clauses between his parallels to Matthew's 'love your enemies' and 'pray for them that persecute you.' The second of these inserted clauses runs: *εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν.* It is possible that there is a connection here with Romans xii

14: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς· εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε (cf. also James iii 10: ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ στόματος ἐξέρχεται εὐλογία καὶ κατάρα. Possibly all three have a single source, but coincidence is, of course, also possible).[14]

The other clause inserted by Luke in this passage — καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς — is easily explained by Matthew's μισήσεις τὸν ἐχθρόν σου (v 43), which Luke had omitted a moment before. Thus every clause of Luke vi 27 f. can be given a plausible source.

(5) vi 31 cf. Matthew vii 12: κάθως θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν. This use of ἵνα with the subjunctive after θέλω occurs only here in Matthew and Luke-Acts. We cannot prove from this by itself the dependence of Luke on Matthew, but the fact constitutes an argument for direct literary connection between them.

(6) vi 35 f. ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς ὑμῶν πολύς, καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ τοῦ ὑψίστου. ὅτι αὐτὸς χρηστός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ πονηρούς. γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες κάθως ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί. Luke's combination of idiosyncrasy and indebtedness comes out interestingly here. A few verses earlier, where Matthew has τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε, Luke wrote ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;, substituting χάρις (Matthew 0, Mark 0, Luke 8) for μισθός. But in the present passage, where he is getting back to Matthew after a digression, he uses the μισθός phrase from Matthew v 12 = Luke vi 23. He then takes Matthew's ἔσεσθε (verse 48), and so back to υἱοί etc. Matthew says τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. The objections to this for Luke are (*a*) it is not a title he cares to use of God (though once he has 'your Father from heaven'), (*b*) it is a specially Christian title; and indeed Matthew's sermon is addressed to disciples. But Luke has generalized his audience since vi 27; he, therefore, changes to ὑψίστου, thus missing the point of '*sons* of your Father.'[15] χρηστός is weak for ἥλιον ἀνατέλλει and βρέχει. ἀχαρίστους is due partly to Luke's ποία χάρις, partly to his phrase

[14] That the influence of St. Paul's Epistles cannot be ruled out of court for Luke seems to follow from a comparison of Luke xxi 34–36 with 1 Thessalonians v 3 f. As 1 Thessalonians is, in all probability, from the year 51 or 52 it must be Luke who is borrowing here.

[15] On the other hand, 'Father' in vi 36 is justified, in the author's mind, by 'ye shall be sons' in the previous verse. That is how St. Luke's mind works.

about lending without hope of return.[16] Then γίνεσθε is exchanged for Matthew's ἔσεσθε from Matthew's own ὅπως γένησθε. οἰκτίρμονες is probably due to the 'tender' strain in St. Luke's character, and to a sense that Matthew's τέλειοι ὡς τέλειος required explanation or softening.

Two further points: Luke vi 33 τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν is a 'weariness-phenomenon'; Matthew has it here and also just before. Luke had expanded in the former instance; here he copies. Had he been writing free of Matthew he would perhaps have said: κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί. On the other hand, 'publicans,' and especially 'Gentiles' (Matthew) he prefers to bleach out into 'sinners.' [17]

The question may naturally be asked: Can we explain the whole of Luke vi 20–38 by dependence on Matthew? Against this are the following objections:

(i) The comparison of Matthew's πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι with Luke's simple πτωχοί.

(ii) The Woes, present in Luke, but not in Matthew.

(iii) Luke vi 34, 35a, 37b, 38a, absent from Matthew.

A word may be said on each of these points: (i) It has already been pointed out that the blessing on 'the poor in spirit' might sound odd to St. Luke, who likes to praise his heroes for being 'full of the Holy Spirit.' [18] But the contrast of simple material poverty and wealth is found again in the Lazarus-Dives parable (which seems to have haunted St. Luke's mind in the Woe (on the rich) corresponding to this Beatitude); and the parable of the man who built new barns shows a similar attitude to wealth. It is thus perhaps not impossible that a special interest of St. Luke has affected his treatment of this Beatitude.

(ii) It might be argued that Luke has composed the Woes himself, on the model of the Beatitudes. There is nothing in their contents that is not deducible by direct logical process

[16] It should decide the issue against the reading μηδένα in verse 35.

[17] Note ἀπολάβωσιν, verse 34, Luke's normal word, not ἀπέχωσιν.

[18] It is perhaps worth noticing that he omits 'the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak' in the account of the Agony. He seems to use πνεῦμα of the Holy Spirit and of discarnate spirits including men's 'ghosts.'

from the Beatitudes, except indeed ἀπέχετε τὴν παράκλησιν; and here note, not only ἀπέχετε (see above), but παράκλησιν, cf. Matthew's παρακληθήσονται of the 'mourners' — though Lazarus too, in the Parable, παρακαλεῖται. πενθήσετε (verse 25) may show the influence of Matthew v 5 (where Luke's parallel has κλαίοντες). There are also several touches of Lucan style in the wording of the Woes: πλήν (used especially where Luke is moving towards, or away from, a source), πλουσίοις, παράκλησιν, ἐμπεπλησμένοι, κλαύσετε, πάντες, κατὰ τὰ αὐτά.

On the other hand, it may be held that such gratuitous licence of composition is beyond what Luke, a rather scrupulous writer, would have allowed himself. In that case, we ought probably to suppose that the Beatitudes *were* followed, in our Lord's original sermon, by Woes, and that Luke got hold of an Aramaic source (written or oral) which preserved the Woes — or some of them. Luke has translated his Aramaic source with help from Matthew's Greek. A comparison of the Parables of the Pounds and the Talents shows him following a somewhat similar procedure.

(iii) The extra matter in Luke vi 34–38 offers a choice between similar alternatives. Verse 34 may 'pick up' Matthew v 42 τὸν θέλοντα ἀπό σου δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς, of which Luke may have felt that his own ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει had not exhausted the possibilities. Then 35a is résumé. But 37b, 38a have a glow and exuberance that tell against their being a free composition of Luke (note too the vague plural), and so the possibility of an Aramaic source being available for Luke alongside of Matthew's record of the sermon is strengthened. That the second source, if it existed, was Aramaic and not Greek is to my mind strongly suggested by the two following considerations: (*a*) the influence of Matthew's Greek extends into the verses not represented in his version; (*b*) such of the Greek of Luke's Sermon as is not Matthaean is generally rather strikingly Lucan, and is in fact often linked with the Greek not of the third Gospel only, but of Acts.

In any case, there is little in what we have so far considered to encourage belief in a *common* Greek source used both by Matthew and by Luke for the sermon.

Is there any evidence, tending in that direction, which we have not yet examined? I think some points might be adduced; but I do not think them sufficient to justify the hypothesis:

(i) Matthew's Sermon shows signs of having been compiled by the author or editor of the Gospel from different sources or occasions. For example, either v 23 f. or v 25 f. seems superfluous to the context. vi 7–15 interrupts the trio on almsgiving, prayer and fasting. vii 6 seems an isolated fragment, vii 7–11 reverts to the subject of prayer already treated, and vii 12 would be in better position if vii 7–11 were omitted. vii 1–5, 12 and vii 6 seem to go rather with v 43–48 than with their own context.

To deal fully with the question of the composition of Matthew's Sermon would take us beyond the limits of this study. But it may be pointed out that a certain lack of sequence was almost inevitable if the author proposed to give the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord — he would have missed some of what our Lord said, when making his notes, and in all probability the actual sermon was considerably longer than Matthew's version of it. And, on the other hand, it is likely enough that he would work into the Sermon fragments of our Lord's teaching on the subjects dealt with, spoken on other occasions. There is no need to appeal to any written source other than the notes taken by St. Matthew himself. Details follow:

(*a*) Matthew v 25 f. = Luke xii 57–59. Despite Luke's greater length, Matthew's version is the more original. For (*α*) Luke xii 57 is a not very neat editorial modulation; (*β*) ἐργασίαν, ἀπηλλάχθαι, κατασύρῃ all betray Luke's hand (see the Concordance; for κατασύρῃ cf. σύρειν in Acts, meaning 'to hale' before a magistrate). πράκτωρ is a technical Athenian term, and λεπτόν is more 'refined' than κοδράντην. (*γ*) The passage shows Luke's periphrastic, explanatory care. "Q," if it existed, would be to us indistinguishable from Matthew's version of the saying.

(*b*) Similarly Luke's Pater Noster (xi 2–4) seems to reflect his editing. His πάτερ, as usual, modifies Matthew's πάτερ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. His τὸ καθ'ἡμέραν is a Lucan 'improvement' on σήμερον.

ἁμαρτίας explains ὀφειλήματα, and πάντι is a Lucan word. Once again "Q" would be indistinguishable from Matthew.

(*c*) vii 6, isolated in Matthew, is without a parallel in Luke, to whom indeed it was hardly likely to appeal.

(*d*) vii 7–11 = Luke xi 9–13, the latter adding 'Or again if he ask an egg, will he give him a scorpion?' This would give genuine support to the "Q" hypothesis, if that hypothesis were otherwise well-grounded.[19] It may be noticed, however, that snakes and scorpions occur together at Luke x 19 (reminiscent of Psalms xc (xci)), and the mention of a 'snake' in Matthew vii 10 = Luke xi 11 may have reminded Luke of that passage. In other respects Luke's divergences from Matthew in this passage show some characteristic 'Lucanisms': ὑπάρχοντες, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (Matthew ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς), πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

(ii) Luke vi 43 f. has a parallel not only at Matthew vii 15–20 (in the Sermon), but also at Matthew xii 33, and a comparison of the three passages will show that Luke can be represented as intermediary between the two passages of Matthew:

[19] Luke ix 61 f. gives a similar trio corresponding to a Matthaean pair.

Matthew vii 16–18:

Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς. μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα; οὕτως πᾶν δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σαπρὸν δένδρον καρποὺς πονηροὺς ποιεῖ. οὐ δύναται δένδρον ἀγαθὸν καρποὺς πονηροὺς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ δένδρον σαπρὸν καρποὺς καλοὺς ἐνεγκεῖν.

Luke vi 43 f.:

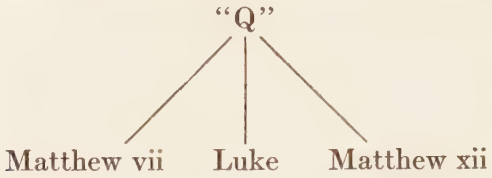
Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν δένδρον καλὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν σαπρόν, οὐδὲ πάλιν δένδρον σαπρὸν ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλόν. ἕκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀκανθῶν συλλέγουσιν σῦκα, οὐδὲ ἐκ βάτου σταφυλὴν τρυγῶσιν. ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος κτλ.[20]

Matthew xii 33:

Ἢ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον καλὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ καλόν, ἢ ποιήσατε τὸ δένδρον σαπρὸν καὶ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ σαπρόν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται. . . . ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος κτλ.

[20] Full underlining indicates connection with Matthew vii, dotted underlining with Matthew xii.

As it cannot be supposed that Matthew used Luke, the following solution might, therefore, be propounded by supporters of "Q":



"Q" would, on this hypothesis, be practically identical, in this passage, with Luke, and Matthew's editorial hand would be seen in Matthew vii 19 = Matthew iii 10b (the Baptist's preaching).

I have presented the case for "Q" rather fully in this connection, for the arguments adducible are closely similar to those used for a different purpose in II supra, and we thus have a test case for the validity of our thesis. Before dealing further with it, it is worth while to observe that if "Q" solves the case before us, it must be applied also to the solution of the 'Five Crucial Instances' of II. We shall thus be driven to admit that (i) in *those* five instances "Q" was practically identical not with Luke, but with Matthew, (ii) Matthew is prior to Mark, not vice versa (otherwise we shall have Matthew, in those five passages, combining Mark and "Q" in the way that we have already urged to be most improbable; the alternative would be to make Mark depend not on Matthew, but on "Q," but a little thought will show that this is to introduce an unknown quantity whose operation cannot be kept within determined bounds and is unnecessary).

Our own hypothesis, on the other hand, involves the view that Luke has here conflated two Matthaean passages, which are in Matthew a doublet.[21] And it is possible to suggest a

[21] A full discussion of the Matthaean doublets would be a lengthy matter. Generally speaking, they show the author repeating himself, not copying two sources or even, necessarily, reproducing teaching given on two different occasions by Christ. Thus xix 9 is an ambiguous abridgment of v 32, xxiv 9–14 appears to show the influence of x 17–23 (note the intrusion of δέ in xxiv 13, in the midst of a καὶ . . . καὶ . . . passage). It is probable that xii 33 is similarly a shortened reproduction of vii 16–20; note that in ch. vii the tree is 'good' or 'corrupt,' the fruit is 'fair' or 'bad'; this nuance is missed in ch. xii, which also lacks the 'Semitic inclusio' of the earlier passage.

reason for such behavior on his part: Luke determined to omit from his Sermon the instructions on prayer, as well as the treatment of the Mosaic Law. In fact, after the Woes, he has narrowed the Sermon down practically to the theme of love of neighbor. Hence, after the Mote and Beam passage (vi 41 f. = Matthew vii 3–5) he skips a longish passage in Matthew (vii 6–14). The next section is ours, *By their fruits . . .*, which suggests to his mind the idea (congenial to his purpose in the Sermon) that if you want to *do* good you must *be* good yourself. However, *as it stands in Matthew*, the section is given quite a different bearing by its opening verse: Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but within they are ravenous wolves; *from their fruits you shall know them. . . .* Here the point is not 'If you want to do good, *be* good,' but 'If you want to judge whether a man is good, examine whether he does good.' Obviously, then, Matthew vii 15 must be dropped; but then his verse 16 loses its connection. Not unnaturally, Luke turns to the other member of the doublet (Matthew xii 33) for inspiration, which he gets, along with the useful conclusion ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος κτλ. The result of this procedure is that his own version fuses the two Matthaean versions.

We may now pass on to examine parallels to parts of Matthew's Sermon in parts of Luke other than his Sermon:

(i) Luke xiv 34 f. cf. Matthew v 13. The Lucan passage also has manifest links with Mark ix 50, which probably suggested to Luke its insertion at this point, where he has (like Mark in the verses preceding ix 50) been speaking of the (possible) cost of religious fidelity. The passage helps but little to a determination of our problem. Note that εὔθετον and perhaps οὔτε . . . οὔτε show Luke's editorial hand.

(ii) Luke xi 33 cf. Matthew v 15. Luke's verse is in poor contextual sequence both backwards and forwards. It shows reminiscence of his own verse viii 16. Lucan are: οὐδείς (proverbial), ἅψας, εἰσπορευομένοις (Lucan and Marcan; Matthew 1).

(iii) (For Luke xvi 17, cf. Matthew v 18 vid. VI p. 296.) Luke xvi 18 cf. Matthew v 31 f. (and Matthew xix 9 = Mark x 11 f.). The critical problem here is hard to disentangle from other considerations. The following solution may be suggested: Mat-

thew's ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι is original: anyone following any of the other three passages, or a "Q" that ran like them, would almost inevitably have written not ποιεῖ αὐτὴν μοιχευθῆναι, but μοιχᾶται. On the other hand, anyone following Matthew v 31 f. might be struck by the need to warn the ἀπολύων against the temptation to adultery to which by separation from his wife he exposes himself. This is what Luke has done: his πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων . . . shows literary connection with Matthew v 32, but his καὶ γαμῶν ἑτέραν μοιχεύει may be from Matthew xix 9 or Mark x 11, probably the latter, since Mark x 12 may explain the *phrasing* of Luke xvi 18b, whose content = Matthew v 32b.[22]

(iv) Luke xii 33 f. cf. Matthew vi 19–21. An interesting and important case. It looks as though Luke has deduced his verse 33a (Sell your belongings and give alms) from Matthew: the latter says 'do not accumulate wealth on earth'; the former, remembering the Rich Young Man (who was to have 'treasure in heaven' if he gave up his earthly wealth to follow Christ), says '(on the contrary) sell what you have got and give alms.' Compare Matthew's account of the Rich Man with our passage of Luke:

Matthew xix 21:	Luke xii 33:
πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ (-οῖς?)	πωλήσατε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν καὶ δότε ἐλεημοσύνην . . . θησαυρὸν ἀνέκλειπτον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. . . .

Thus Luke compensates to some extent for his omission of the section in Matthew's Sermon on almsgiving (vi 1–4). Lucan are: τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (even if borrowed in this case from Matthew xix 21), δότε ἐλεημοσύνην, βαλλάντια, (παλαιούμενα is *hapax* in New Testament except for Ep. Hebr., which has other links with

[22] Matthew's παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας has, of course, been questioned; but I do not think he would deliberately falsify his source to introduce a relaxing qualification such as this would be if it had been thus subsequently added. The dropping of the clause in Mark and Luke is, of course, intelligible enough. For it sounds 'scandalous,' though what in Matthew it perhaps meant was: 'To drive away your wife is to expose her to a probable occasion of adultery. If she has been unfaithful to you you are justified in permitting this risk. But if you do so without such cause you "make her commit adultery" and are partly to blame for her fall.'

Lucan language), (*ἀνεκλείπτον* New Testament *hapax*, but cf. Luke xvii 1 *ἀνενδέκτον* New Testament *hapax*, *ἐκλείπω* Luke 3 Hebrew 1, New Testament otherwise 0 — note especially Luke xvii 1 *ἵνα ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ δέξωνται ὑμᾶς*), *ἐγγίζει*. In verse 34 Luke has 'corrected' singular to plural.

One importance of this case is that in it Luke appears to show knowledge of a 'Marcan' section of Matthew (xix 21; the parallels in Mark and Luke lack the word *ὑπάρχοντα*). The alternative solution, that Luke xii 33 f. and Matthew vi 19–21 are from "Q," from which Matthew has 'remembered' *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* at xix 21, breaks down in face of the obviously superior originality of Matthew vi 19 compared with Luke xii 33.

(v) Luke xi 34–36 cf. Matthew vi 22 f. Luke's placing is inferior. Matthew's *τὸ σκότος πόσον* is perhaps more original than Luke's *σκόπει μή*. (It is possible that Luke's verse 36 is a rather awkward attempt to round off an obscure passage.)

(vi) Luke xvi 13 = Matthew vi 24. *οἰκέτης* is a typical Lucan 'gloss.' Luke's placing of the verse is hardly happy. It is preceded by the Parable of the Unjust Steward (whose success in playing a double game seems rather to conflict with this saying) to which are added two or three short sayings not very well fitted on and finally this verse. The general effect is something like those passages where Mark has strung together three or four short sayings presumably spoken on different occasions and with little internal connection between them.

(vii) Luke xii 22–31 cf. Matthew vi 25–34. Both very well placed. Luke's opening sentence is perhaps editorial, to weld two passages not found together in a source. His 'ravens' are probably a LXX allusion or reminiscence. The pathetic and bewitching rhythms of Matthew are probably original. Luke's verse 26 is suspiciously like an editorial 'gloss.' And his phrase *τί περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μεριμνᾶτε* is probably a reminiscence of *αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος . . . καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι* (Mark iv 19). *κατανοέω* is a word Luke is relatively fond of; his *θεός* in verse 24 replaces Matthew's 'Heavenly Father,' and *πλήν* is Lucan.

(viii) Luke xiii 23 f. cf. Matthew vii 13 f. Matthew's passage is quite well placed in the Sermon, though without explicit links. Luke's version is without context backwards; forwards, it

links up with a passage recalling first the Matthaean Parable of the Foolish Virgins and then a passage a little later in Matthew's Sermon (Matthew vii 22 f.).

In Matthew the passage is an injunction to set out on the difficult road which leads through this life to life eternal. In Luke it refers to the situation at the *end* of this life's struggles, when the good will be admitted to the heavenly home, while the bad are driven away; hence 'gate' in Matthew, 'door' in Luke; hence also the future tenses in Luke ('shall seek and shall not succeed'), where Matthew has the present. Matthew's version is the more original, for it will be too late to 'struggle' to enter in, when the Last Day comes, and the fact that Luke has committed himself to this awkwardness is due to his attempt to weld together material of disparate provenance. Even so, verse 25 is appended somewhat abruptly. The Matthaean passage has the simplicity and rhythm of originality. Luke's (editorial?) question 'Lord, are there few that are saved?' (cf. Luke xxii 49, Acts i 6) may be derived from Matthew vii 14 'they are few that find it.'

In fact, one may suggest that Luke xiii 23–30 is an editorial and reminiscent patchwork. With it and its language compare Luke xi 5–10, Matthew xxv 10–12, vii 22 f., viii 11 f., xx 16 (note, in Luke xiii 30, the characteristic softening of the language: 'there are last who shall be first, and there are first who shall be last'). Note that Luke's omission of the broad way to destruction, which 'many' take, is itself a softening.

The Sermon ended, Matthew continues: 'And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words, the crowds were astonished at his teaching, etc.' There follows the descent from the mountain and the cleansing of a leper, and then, after the entry into Capharnaum, the centurion's request leads to the healing of his servant.

Luke had copied from Mark the sentence about the effect of the teaching (iv 32), and had also taken from Mark the healing of the leper (v 12–16). But apart from these omissions, his continuation follows Matthew exactly: 'When he had completed all his words in the ears of the people, he went into Capharnaum,' and there the centurion's servant is healed. (For

πληρόω = complete, not of time, cf. Acts xiv 26, xix 21. ῥῆμα Matthew 5 Mark 2 Luke 19 John 12 Acts 14 . . . εἰς τὰς ἀκόας τοῦ λαοῦ cf. Acts xvii 20 and note Luke vi 17, the introduction to the Sermon, editing Mark.) These facts show that no mere collection of sayings will explain the "Q" parallels, extending as they do to incidents and to connecting links between episodes. Adherents of "Q" will be driven to turn that document into a lost Gospel.

The Centurion's Servant episode is one in which Luke's fusion of Matthew and a special source is most evident. The special source is represented by the description of the sick person as δοῦλος, while Matthew, and Luke when copying Matthew, call him παῖς.[23] Luke's μὴ σκύλλου, interpolated into Matthew's κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς κτλ., looks like a reminiscence of the Jairus incident (Luke viii 49 μηκέτι σκύλλε τὸν διδάσκαλον cf. Mark 35 τί ἔτι σκύλλεις τὸν διδάσκαλον;).

We may now summarize and review our discussion of the Great Sermon:

Luke's Sermon is introduced by some considerable editorial manipulation of his Marcan source, and his choice of context for it (Luke vi 12 εἰς τὸ ὄρος = Mark; Luke vi 17 καταβὰς . . . ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινοῦ, an editorial device to obtain an auditorium) indicates that in his source for the Sermon itself it was indeed a Sermon on the Mount. It is the same Sermon as the one recorded by Matthew, as exordium and peroration prove, and there are (besides the Woes) at most only a few verses that could not be derived from Matthew — than which, however, it is far shorter. But while not a mere variant record, it is not a mere précis or untendencious abridgment of Matthew's sermon; for it is constructed — after the Woes — in the main so as to be a discourse on the duty of charity towards one's fellow-men.

Either, then, our Lord preached a sermon on this theme, which Matthew has expanded, 'Judaized' (i.e. set back into a

[23] Matthew viii 9 'my slave (δοῦλος)' does not refer to this sick servant, but to any one of the slaves of the centurion.

Jewish thought-world, and made relevant to Palestinian controversies), and transformed into a quasi-original Christian manifesto; or Luke has transformed a sermon rather of the latter type into a shorter one on a more generalized theme.

Not only does the former solution offend against what we may call the historical law of entropy (it involves putting back the clock of history, and an inversion of the principles of historical development),[24] but its falsity is indicated by the following considerations: (i) Luke vi 27 ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν . . . cries out to be explained as an adaptation of Matthew v 43 f. And since also, as we have seen, the ' inner and outer circle' arrangement was edited into his material by Luke at vi 17 (μαθητῶν . . . λαοῦ), we may be excused for suspecting that, wishing to convey our Lord's message in a form prepared for a Gentile audience, he has deliberately selected teaching of the most universal kind — charity towards fellow-men being a thing of universal appeal and yet implicitly covering the whole Christian ethical system — out of a sermon of more particular color. (ii) This conclusion is reinforced by some traces of Matthaean vocabulary or style in Luke's Sermon: μισθός, ἀπέχετε, ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν. This list may seem a small one, but a comparison of the way in which Luke has rewritten his Marcan material makes this less surprising; and on the other hand the second and fourth examples are impressive on close examination. (iii) Luke's ὑψίστου for 'your Father in heaven' spoils the sense in its effort to avoid a phrase which Luke hardly ever uses, and which has been rendered unsuitable by his editorial device of the 'outer and inner circles.' In view of this, the weakness of χρηστός and οἰκτίρμονες becomes significant. (iv) The divergences from Matthaean vocabulary in Luke's Sermon are, on the whole, specifically ' Lucan.' In other words, the formula ' Matthew's style *plus* Luke's style' covers the Greek of Luke's Sermon adequately without appeal to a non-Matthaean Greek source. (It is obvious that an Aramaic "Q" will not explain, e.g., θέλω ἵνα Matthew vii 12, Luke vi 31.) (v) It is obviously easier, from the point of view of literary

[24] It would be a case, not merely of *selecting material* of special Palestinian interest, but of impregnating a whole un-Jewish sermon with the atmosphere of Palestine.

probability, to suppose that Luke has narrowed the scope and dimmed the color of the Sermon by a process of selection, than that Matthew has succeeded in expanding and painting up a Sermon of the Lucan type into the grandiose and comprehensive structure of his own Sermon; this remains true even if we admit that Matthew has inserted into his Sermon some short sections or sayings from other occasions. (vi) Luke xi 33, xvi 18, xii 33 f., xii 22–31 seem secondary when compared with the corresponding passages in Matthew's Sermon, and Luke xii 33 f. also shows the influence of Matthew xix 21 (where the appeal to "Q" would be a counsel of despair, this passage — Matthew xix 21 — being in a Marcan section). (vii) The immediate sequel of the Sermon in Luke (ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν κτλ.) is equivalent to Matthew's sequel to the Sermon on the Mount, except that Luke lacks here what he had copied elsewhere from Mark. It might be suggested that this is because "Q" had the same sequel to the Sermon, and that Matthew has conflated "Q" and Mark here. But there are two objections to this: (*a*) "Q" begins to turn into a Gospel instead of a collection of teaching; (*b*) Matthew's ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν κτλ. (= Luke's ἐπειδὴ ἐπλήρωσεν κτλ.) is a formula he uses on four other occasions, and is part of the framework of his Gospel — we should have to suppose either that "Q" had the same structure of five discourses each ending with this formula and followed by narrative (in which case "Q" becomes not only a Gospel, but a Gospel indistinguishable from Matthew), or else that "Q" had the phrase on this occasion, and Matthew adopted it as a convenient and repeatable idea. (Cf. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, six times in Matthew, of which one is "Q.")

We have indeed pointed out that arguments against our solution may be derived from a comparison of Luke xi 9–13 with Matthew vii 7–11 and of Luke vi 43 f. with Matthew vii 15–20 and xii 33. But these cannot carry weight against the multiple converging considerations in support of our hypothesis. If comparative literary criticism can prove anything in default of external evidence, the hypothesis of the dependence of Luke on Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (in its Greek form) may be put forward with some confidence.

VI

Further Evidence

The conclusion drawn from our five crucial instances has stood the test of application to the problems raised by a comparison of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount with Luke's Great Sermon. The following remarks extend that test to other passages where there is, or may be, literary connection between the first and third Gospels.

(i) We may begin with part of the section on the Centurion's Servant, Matthew viii 11 f., lacking in the parallel section of Luke, but occurring later on at Luke xiii 28–30, of which we have discussed verse 30 already.

Luke xiii 28 f. gives a different order from Matthew viii 11 f.:

Matthew viii 11 f.:	Luke xiii 28 f.:
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξελεύσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.	ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων, ὅταν ὄψεσθε Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω. καὶ ἥξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ. . . .

(*a*) It will be noticed that Luke's order apparently involves treating ἐκεῖ as a temporal adverb (= 'then'), a meaning it has perhaps nowhere else in the New Testament (Liddell and Scott give one reference to Sophocles and one to Demosthenes for ἐκεῖ = τότε). In Matthew it has its normal meaning: 'there.'

(*b*) The phrase 'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth' is a Matthaean catchword, occurring six times in Matthew. This is the only occasion of its use in Luke. Will the advocates of "Q" attribute all six cases to "Q"? Or will they say that Matthew found the phrase in "Q" at this point, and liked it so much that he inserted it on five other occasions on his own responsibility?

(*c*) Luke's 'and all the prophets' and 'and north and south' are typical Lucan completions ('all' is a favorite word with Luke); Matthew has a starker, more original ring. Indeed, the whole Lucan context is misty and vague, while its Matthaean parallels are in general vivid and clearcut. Note, for instance, Luke's *ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης* (xiii 25), a reminiscence of Matthew xxiv 43, from which verse of Matthew St. Luke passes on to the Parable of the Ten Virgins, a little lower down, for his scene before the shut door (Luke xiii 25–27). The householder and his 'rising up' are unexplained in Luke, and barely congruous with the following Messianic banquet. In short, Lucan psychology and literary criticism combine to show that Matthew viii 11 f. is more original than Luke xiii 28–30, and that the whole paragraph in Luke can be explained by use of various Matthaean passages, but not vice versa.

(ii) The Baptist and Christ, Matthew xi 2–19 cf. Luke vii 18–35.

This is a typical so-called "Q" passage, our Lord's words being recorded in almost identical Greek by both evangelists. Luke has, beyond Matthew, Luke vii 20 f., 29 f. Matthew has, beyond Luke, Matthew xi 12–15, part of which is paralleled at Luke xvi 16.

Luke's variations from Matthew betray Lucan style and psychology: vii 18 *περί, πάντων, τινας*, 20 *οἱ ἄνδρες*, 21 *ἐχαρίσατο*, 22 asyndeton in place of Matthew's rhythmical three pairs, 24 *πρός*, 25 *ἱματισμῷ, ἐνδόξῳ, ὑπάρχοντες*, 28 *προφήτης*, inserted to make the statement less apparently sweeping, 31 double question, 32 *ἐκλαύσατε*, 33 insertion of *ἄρτον* and *οἶνον*, since John did eat *something*, namely locusts, etc., and the angel had foretold that he would not drink wine (Luke i 15), 35 *πάντων*.

Thus "Q," if it be supposed to have existed, would be indistinguishable from Matthew, and it is reasonable to regard Luke vii 20 f. as an insertion to prepare the way for what follows; while Matthew xi 12–15 will have been omitted because of its obscurity and narrower Jewish interest (Luke vii 29 f. may have been appended editorially by Luke).

The section is splendidly placed in Matthew: the Christian mission has taken a great step forward with the sending forth

of the apostles, and it is set in contrast first with John the Baptist, then with the Jews in general, then in particular with the cities in which Christ had worked most miracles; after which, by a kind of 'inclusio,' we revert to the core of the Christian revelation itself, hidden from wise and prudent and revealed to little ones. Compared with this, the Lucan setting is tame.

There remains Luke xvi 16 (cf. Matthew xi 12 f.), which betrays Lucan editing by *εὐαγγελίζεται*, and by its substitution of *πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται* for the enigmatic, violent or austere *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν*.[25] On the whole we may say that the Lucan passages show the hand of an editor working on comparatively first hand materials. That is the impression given alike by Luke's "Q" passages and by his rendering of the Marcan tradition. He is a careful compiler, working on some of the 'many' (but does this really mean more than two?) precedent attempts to 'draw up a record.'

(iii) It was asserted (p. 265 supra) that Matthew ix 35 is paraphrased at Luke viii 1:

Matthew ix 35 ff.:	Luke viii 1 f.:
καὶ περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας, διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν . . . τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ . . . τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.	*καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς καὶ αὐτὸς διώδευεν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην κηρύσσων, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γυναῖκες τινες, αἳ ἦσαν τεθεραπευμέναι ἀπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν καὶ ἀσθενειῶν. . . .*

The wording is different, and so too is the context. But Luke's wording is in the main a series of Lucan equivalents for that of Matthew (shown by underlining, above). In view of the other evidence of Luke's use and treatment of Matthew, one may be forgiven for suspecting that there is indebtedness here also. Otherwise, we have to admit a very striking coincidence.

(iv) The Mission of the Seventy, etc. Luke ix 57–x 24.

[25] Luke xvi 17, dropping 'one iota,' is probably secondary to Matthew v 18.

Luke ix 57–62 has a partial parallel at Matthew viii 19–22. The words of our Lord, so far as they occur in both, are practically identical. As Matthew lacks the third little incident, this passage seems to favor the "Q" hypothesis. But διάγγελλε (a Lucan word), and the discrepancy between ἀκολούθει μοι and ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε, may indicate that Luke is expanding, and he may have attached the third incident here for convenience, from a different (oral?) source.

The Mission of the Seventy has been dealt with in II. The story of this mission is peculiar to Luke, and he has eked out his material for it with matter from the Matthaean Mission of the Twelve, having used the Marcan Mission of the Twelve when following Mark. Besides the points noted in II, it may be observed that Luke concludes the instructions to the Seventy with a verse (16) similar to one of the concluding verses in the Matthaean Mission of the Twelve; but the likeness is one of substance rather than of form, and Luke may be following his special 'Seventy' source. Note also that Luke x 13–15 is a curtailed loan from Matthew xi 21–23 (see IV p. 276); it was suggested to Luke here by ἀνεκτότερον (Matthew x 15, Luke x 12 and Matthew xi 22, Luke x 14), but is really out of place, since it refers to a rejection of *Christ* that *has already taken place*, while the context Luke has chosen for it relates to a possible *future* rejection of Christ's *representatives*.

So too we have already pointed out (IV p. 277) that Luke x 21 f. is a curtailed reproduction of Matthew xi 25–30. στραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶπεν (verse 22) is one of Luke's frequent explanatory additions (στραφείς Matthew 2 Luke 7 or 8); like ἠγαλλιάσατο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ in verse 21. Here again, as so often, what is non-Matthaean in Luke's so-called "Q" passages turns out to be characteristically 'Lucan,' and hence no indication of another source; "Q" as usual is indistinguishable from Matthew.

Finally, Luke x 23 f. = Matthew xiii 16 f., but Luke omits τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν ὅτι ἀκούουσιν despite the rhythmical balance of the next verse's ἰδεῖν . . . καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. Luke's βασιλεῖς may be due to reminiscence of e.g. the Psalm *Deus, Deus meus*, considered as the prayer of David the King. The κατ' ἰδίαν of verse 23 is

due to Luke's memory that the occasion in Matthew when our Lord spoke the following words to his disciples was when he was about to explain (to them and not to the crowd) the Parable of the Sower; as he remembered from Mark, these explanations were given κατ' ἰδίαν (Mark iv 34). It may be added that the Matthaean context is better than the (not, it is true, inappropriate) Lucan one.

The accumulative force of the evidence afforded by Luke ix 57–x 24 is such that one can hardly refrain from asking why these things have not been given their due weight in discussions of the Synoptic Problem. It would seem that a decision was rushed on the question of "Q," in the light of superficial phenomena, and the ordinary scholar has not troubled to check the decision by painstaking comparative study of the so-called "Q" passages in their contexts in the Gospels. One may also regret the intrusion of higher criticism in a field, and at a stage, which belonged to this more humble, but more objective, type of literary criticism. However this may be, it is clear that the data of the Gospels themselves, so far from requiring the "Q" hypothesis, are positively inimical to it at least to this extent, that it is past belief that those data could be so adequately met by the hypothesis of direct utilization of Matthew by Luke, if in fact "Q" had been the link between them.

(v) Luke xi 24–26 cf. Matthew xii 43–45. The wording is almost identical; but the context is different. In Matthew the passage occurs in a reply to a request for a sign; and it means that the Jews, having been purged of their spirit of unbelief under the Old Covenant, are in danger of reverting to infidelity and thus of succumbing to other faults, if they do not now go on to make a positive act of faith in the new revelation for which their past purification was meant to prepare them. In Luke the passage comes in the Beelzebub controversy, and the result is that it reads like a comment on diabolic possession in the literal sense — the more so if, with Huck, we omit in Luke the word σχολάζοντα, which gives the point to the passage in Matthew. It is easier to believe that Luke has emptied of its deeper meaning a passage of Matthew, by altering its context, than that Matthew, by clever placing (and the interpolation of σχολά-

ζοντα καὶ?), has put a new and significant color on a piece of Luke or of the so-called "Q."

Luke xi 29–32 proceeds (somewhat awkwardly, after an interjection from a woman in the crowd, and a piece of Lucan editorial work) to answer the request for a sign (xi 16); cf. Matthew xii 38–42. Luke has substituted prose for the poetic form of the passage in Matthew, and has avoided the difficulty of 'three days and three nights in the earth.' Note too the fatigue phenomenon: in the second half of the passage his variations from Matthew are much fewer than in the first — only τῶν ἀνδρῶν inserted before the former τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης, but not before the latter (the effort to modify here ceasing entirely).

Luke xi 33 = Matthew v 15, though Luke is also influenced by his own viii 16 f. (Mark iv 21 f.): ἄψας, κρυπτήν (cf. κρυπτόν, viii 17) *two* ways of hiding a light instead of one, ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φέγγος βλέπωσιν. (If appeal is made to "Q" here, it should be allowed that (*a*) Mark used "Q," (*b*) Luke at viii 16 f. conflated Mark with "Q." The net result is thus no easier than on our hypothesis.)

(vi) Luke xi 37–xii 1; cf. Matthew xxiii 25 f., 23, 6 f., 27, 4, 29–31, 34–36, 13, and for Luke xii 1 see Matthew xvi 6, 12, cf. Mark viii 15.

Not at first sight an easy passage either for our or for the "Q" hypothesis. Literary connection, direct or by a Greek document, must be admitted. Yet on the other hand we have:

Matthew xxiii 26:	Luke xi 41:
καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ καθαρόν.	πλὴν τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ ἰδοὺ πάντα καθαρὰ ὑμῖν ἐστιν.

(And note Luke's verse 40, unparalleled in Matthew.) The most feasible explanation of this, on the basis of pure criticism, would be an Aramaic original differently read by the two translators, or slightly corrupted in the copy used by one of them. Neither Greek version can reasonably be derived from the other, nor both from a common Greek source.

In these circumstances, it might be argued that Luke had an

(Aramaic?) authority, independent of Matthew (or of "Q," as the two-documentarian will say), for some words of Christ spoken at a Pharisee's table, and having noticed the similarity with Matthew xxiii proceeded to conflate these two sources, his own translation of the Aramaic being perhaps influenced by the Greek of Matthew. Thus we should have the same solution as for the episode of the Centurion's Servant, and perhaps for the opening of the Great Sermon and other passages (e.g. the Parable of the Great Supper); and we should be spared the inconvenience of a vehement denunciation of Pharisaism at the table of a host of our Lord who was himself a Pharisee.[26] Note that the *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν* refrain only begins *after* *πλὴν τὰ ἐνοντα κτλ.* As always, "Q" proves indistinguishable from Matthew. In the remainder of the section it is not always easy to decide whether Luke is freely editing Matthew, or translating a parallel source. One may suspect the latter in vv. 45–48, and the former in vv. 50 f.

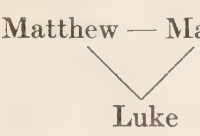
(vii) Luke xii 2–12 cf. Matthew x 26–33, xii 32, x 19.

This is much more like a normal "Q" passage — as is shown, for example, by the coincidence in order with Matthew over a sequence of eight verses. Luke's modifications are often in his own style: *συγκεκαλυμμένον*, *ἀνθ'ὧν*, *πρὸς τὸ οὖς*, the cheapening of the sparrows (Lucan in this sense, that Luke likes to suit his readers' circumstances, and to play with figures), *ἐνώπιον*, 'officers and authorities' (vague and more comprehensive than

[26] It may be urged: 'So, then, you admit that *some-one* has conflated sources to build up single incidents or pieces of teaching; why not, then, Matthew in the five crucial instances?' To this we reply: (1) Yes; every reasonable attempt to solve the Synoptic Problem involves admitting such conflation somewhere. (2) But the sort of conflating Matthew is supposed to have done in the Five Instances is senseless; nor could it have produced the literary finish and contextual coherence of the Matthaean passages in question. (3) We can feel the hand of the compiler of sources at work in the composition of Luke; and see the Preface to the Gospel. (4) Comparison with Mark shows conflation of the kind alleged, in Luke's treatment of the Marcan Transfiguration story, and perhaps in the question on the First Commandment; and the variation between *παῖς* and *δοῦλος* shows it in the episode of the Centurion's Servant. Thus we may legitimately suppose it to have occurred elsewhere also in Luke. (5) On the other hand, compilation of sources has yet to be proved in Matthew; certainly it has left no trace in the obscuration of outlines in that Gospel. (6) But the real test comes in 'trying out' the two contending hypotheses in the Gospels studied side by side; and its result is convincing.

'governors and emperors,' and more often likely to happen), ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, perhaps εἰσφέρωσιν for παραδῶσιν. In verse 8 καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a reminiscence of Luke ix 26 = Mark viii 38, from which context Luke also got his 'angels.' In verse 10 βλασφημήσαντι is from Mark iii 29 by reminiscence.

It will be observed how well the facts are covered by the hypothesis:



In verse 3 Luke offers a discrepancy from Matthew, which, however, the "Q" hypothesis will do little to explain.

Matthew is more balanced, and has better Semitic rhythm than Luke, and here and there we see Luke changing one member of Matthew's pairs of parallels (verse 3 ὅσα . . . ὅ, vv. 8 f. ὁμολογεῖτε active . . . ἀπαρνηθήσεται passive).

We conclude that "Q" and Matthew are indistinguishable, and that "Q" is an unjustified hypothesis. *Entia non sunt multiplicanda.*

(viii) (Luke xii 35–38 has been compared with the Parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew xxv), but the situation is very different; in Matthew the mas⁺er is inside the house, while in Luke it is the servants who are inside, while the master is outside knocking. And apart from the marriage-motif and the words it entails, the wording is very unlike. The Lucan passage is closely connected with Luke xvii 7–10, where note εὐθέως, παρελθών, ἀναπέσε (cf. ἀνακλινεῖ here), περιζωσάμενος, διακόνει.

It seems to me that though not uninfluenced by Matthew xxv the more striking direct influence is that of Mark xiii 33–37. There, as here, the servants are to be vigilant in the house, as the master may be expected at any watch of the night — μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης εὕρῃ ὑμᾶς καθεύδοντας. Cf. our passage μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, οὓς ὁ κύριος ἐλθὼν εὑρήσει γρηγοροῦντας . . . κἂν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κἂν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ φυλακῇ ἔλθῃ, καὶ εὕρῃ οὕτω. . . .[27] Note that

[27] Roughly speaking, the thought of this is from Mark xiii 33–37; the language is largely from Matthew xxiv 46.

for Luke (who looks back at our Lord's words from a later date) the *first* watch — ὄψε — is already past.

If these suggestions are correct, we may suppose a substratum of independent tradition, probably in Aramaic and perhaps from the source of Luke xvii 7–10, worked up into shape by Luke with the help of memories of Mark xiii and a vaguer influence of the knowledge of Matthew xxv. Thus Luke is led on to his next verses.)

Luke xii 39–46 cf. Matthew xxiv 43–51. Here the slave waiting for his master gives place to the householder watching for the thief, but Mark is not forgotten, and in verse 41 Mark's ὃ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω, πᾶσιν λέγω (Mark xiii 37) has been metamorphosed into a question put into St. Peter's mouth: κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ πρὸς πάντας;, and this again introduces the Matthaean simile of the steward vv. 42 ff. It may be noted that ἄρα in Matthew draws a lesson from the general teaching on the uncertainty about the Last Day which has been the theme of the preceding paragraphs; in Luke the same particle appears to answer St. Peter's question by saying 'Of course this teaching is meant specially for you, the steward whom I intend to leave in charge of my Church.' Of these rival contexts for ἄρα Matthew's has the stronger claim to originality; for the introductory question or request in Luke appears to be a Lucan idiosyncrasy; cf. x 29, xi 1 (answered by the Pater Noster, which we have argued to be a loan from Matthew, where, of course, the introductory question is lacking), xii 13, xiii 23 (in a passage which we have argued to be secondary to Matthew), xvii 5, xvii 37 (cf. also — though these are not questions or petitions — xiii 1, xiv 15, xi 45, and xv 1 f.; in the last case, the introduction seems to be drawn from the Marcan tradition). Here again we see how intimacy with Luke's psychology and editorial practice enables us to seize the fact that "Q" is indistinguishable from Matthew; yet if both Matthew and Luke derived from a common source, we should expect Luke to preserve it more faithfully than Matthew at least sometimes.

(ix) Luke xii 49–56 cf. Matthew x 34–36, xvi 2 f.

Luke xii 49 has verbal links with Matthew x 34; the following three verses are parallel to Matthew, with changes: in verse

51a the wording is altered for variety, Matthew's wording having been already utilized in verse 49; in 51b διαμερισμόν is less violent and obscure than Matthew's obviously more original μάχαιραν; verse 52 illustrates Luke's numerative, glossing trend — he has counted up the three pairs in Matthew and correctly made them five (the daughter-in-law's mother-in-law being the same person as the mother of the man and his sister); in verse 53 the use of the passive voice escapes attributing the feuds to Christ's agency — incidentally, the quotation from Micah is in consequence blurred.

Verses 54–56 appear to be from an independent oral tradition (Aramaic?) of the saying recorded at Matthew xvi 2 f. (incidentally, they strongly support the authenticity of the full reading in Matthew ibid. The difference of vocabulary precludes the suggestion that Matthew has been 'harmonized' with Luke).

(x) Luke xiii 34 f. = Matthew xxiii 37–39.

This passage is well placed in both Gospels; in Matthew it comes as a magnificent (but perhaps editorial) climax to the Woes. The omissions in Luke perhaps slightly spoil the rhythmical effect, but little can be proved either way from this passage.

(xi) Luke xiv 15–24 cf. Matthew xxii 1–10.

A very interesting case. Luke's Supper appears to be the same parable as Matthew's Wedding Feast. But each has features or episodes lacking or abridged in the other, and there is no identity of language beyond what the identical subject-matter would explain. Luke has one notable Syriacism ἀπὸ μιᾶς, and his parable might be almost a direct translation from an Aramaic (oral?) source. It would be absurd to equate this with the ordinary "Q" passages. On the other hand, it gives a useful basis for our explanation of some passages in Luke as conflations of Matthew with an Aramaic source, or modifications of the latter by use of the former.

(xii) Luke xiv 25–27 cf. Matthew x 37–39.

The Lucan passage may be a rewriting of the Matthaean, with reminiscence of Mark viii 34 and parallels (whence the crowd, and εἴ τις ἔρχεται). The verbal links are not many, but

Lucan style (prose for poetry, etc.) will in large measure account for the divergence.

(xiii) Luke xv 1–10 cf. Matthew xviii 12–14.

Undoubtedly there is literary connection. And at first sight Luke might appear to be the more original, since he has a *pair* of parables with parallel pattern and lesson — cf. the *man's* mustard-seed and the *woman's* leaven, Matthew xiii 31–33 = Luke xiii 18–20; it would seem that this pairing of parables goes back to our Lord Himself (cf. the Pearl of Great Price and the Hidden Treasure; the Drag-Net and the Tares). But there are indications of his dependence on other passages:

(*a*) xv 7 ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι . . . ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα δικαίοις οἵτινες οὐ χρείαν ἔχουσιν μετανοίας is an echo of Luke v 31 f. (or of one of its parallels).

(*b*) Luke v 31 f. or one of its parallels has also contributed a (Marcan) context to Luke xv 1–10.

(*c*) The 'lost' instead of 'wandering' sheep are a reminiscence of Matthew xv 24 'lost sheep of the house of Israel.'

Hence we may suppose that 'joy before the angels of God' in verse 10 is a Lucan variant on Matthew's [θέλημα] ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. The same variant occurs in Luke xii 8 f. cf. Matthew x 32 f., where Luke betrays his secondariness by once copying Matthew's ἔμπροσθεν and once substituting, as here, his own preference ἐνώπιον.

We are, therefore, free to suppose that Luke knew the pair of parables in his own Aramaic source, but has enlarged and colored the former of the two in translation, by use or reminiscence of Matthew, giving a 'Marcan-tradition' context to the whole.

(xiv) Luke xvii 3–6 cf. Matthew xviii 15, 21 f., xvii 20.

In the two verses before this passage, Luke had been reproducing Matthew xviii 6 f. on scandal. Now in verses 3 f. he seems to be skimming over the surface of the Matthaean section immediately following Matthew xviii 6 f.: προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς is Lucan (note the dative after προσέχετε) for Matthew xviii 10 ὁρᾶτε; the remainder of this verse is a stunted torso of the elaborate passage Matthew xviii 15–17, the last two words (ἀφὲς αὐτῷ) anticipating Matthew xviii 21 f., which is again in-

completely represented by Luke xvii 4. All this is important, as it shows that Luke had a long piece of Matthew (most inadequately represented in Luke) in Matthew's order. In other words, "Q" = Matthew.

Here an odd thing happens: Mark xi 20–25 appends the idea of forgiveness to that of faith. In our passage reminiscence of this passage of Mark leads Luke to append the idea of *faith* (from Matthew xvii 20, but affected by reminiscence of Mark xi 22 f. = Matthew xxi 21) to that of forgiveness. Hence (influenced by the *σύκη* of that passage) Luke here changes the 'mountain' into the less sensational *συκάμινος*, and hence too his jingle of aorist passive imperatives.

Thus these four verses admirably illustrate Luke's indebtedness to his predecessors, and also the curious mixture of copying, reminiscence and modification that (together, of course, with independent material) underlies so much of his Gospel. They also serve to illustrate the vast superiority of Matthew's claim to originality.

(xv) Luke xvii 22–37 cf. Matthew xxiv 26–40 and Luke ix 24 with its parallels.

Verses 22–25 are not very close to their Matthaean parallel; but verse 27, after its fourth word, becomes verbally identical with Matthew except that Luke has *ἀπώλεσεν* for *ἦρεν*. Verses 28 f. are without parallel in Matthew; verse 31 = Matthew xxiv 17 f.; verse 32 is peculiar; verse 33 probably carries a reminiscence of Luke's own ix 24; for verses 34 f. cf. Matthew xxiv 28.

The great argument for "Q" here is the coupling, in Luke only, of the days of Lot with the days of Noah. We have noted the use of pairs of parables, and just below in Matthew we have the 'two in the country' and the 'two women grinding'; surely then this pair (Lot and Noah) must be regarded as original and not due to Luke's editing. Hence, unless it is proposed to derive Matthew from Luke, is it not necessary to derive both from "Q"?

But there is another possible explanation. We have seen that at xv 1–10 Luke was probably translating and modifying with the help of Matthew and Mark an Aramaic (oral?) source

for the lost sheep and the first drachma. A similar hypothesis will cover the present case, and that the more easily since in verse 31 the author is plainly copying Mark xiii 15 f. or its Matthaean parallel xxiv 17 f., while verses 33 and 37 again show his editorial hand. Details:

Luke's borrowings from Matthew xxiv cease at Matthew xxiv 28 and recommence at Matthew xxiv 37 (it is indeed possible that Luke xvii 31 is from Matthew xxiv 17 f. and not from Mark; *ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ* suggests Matthew, but *εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω* Mark. Luke's ordinary practice is not to use Mark outside Marcan context; but this is not an invariable rule.[28] Incidentally, it may be suspected that Luke's *τὰ σκεύη* in this verse is a reminiscence of Matthew xii 29 or its parallel Mark iii 27, where there is a question of *entering the house* to plunder *τὰ σκεύη*). The intervening verses of Matthew (xxiv 29–36) are parallel to Mark xiii 24–32, which Luke follows at xxi 25 ff. It is perhaps easier to explain this as due to Luke excerpting Matthew with omission of what was already to be found in Mark, than to suppose — as the defenders of "Q" will — that both Luke and Matthew have succeeded in utilizing practically the whole of a rather long "Q" section, the one as framework for a Marcan passage and the other independently.

On our view, Luke's verse 34 is a delayed utilization of Matthew xxiv 39 (see Luke xv 10 for a similar phenomenon). Verse 34 *ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί* may be a reminiscence of Lot's flight; but it may also be due to Matthew xxiv 43, where the thief has to be guarded against in the watches of the night. Verse 37 *ποῦ, κύριε;* is a Lucan editorial question, and the placing of the Vultures seems better in Matthew. *ἐπισυναχθήσονται* in this same verse (for Matthew's *συναχθήσονται*) may be a memory of the same verb in Matthew xxiv 31 or its Marcan parallel.

On the whole, Luke's section is so suspiciously patchwork that it can afford only precarious support for the "Q" hypothesis. Its analysis, on the hypothesis of an Aramaic source and

[28] Luke's uneasy paraphrase of Mark xiii 14–16 at Luke xxi 21 f. suggests that he had already written xvii 31 with its utilization of Mark xiii 15 f. or its Matthaean parallel.

of borrowings from Mark and Matthew, is somewhat complicated but not impossible.

(xvi) Luke xix 11–27 cf. Matthew xxv 14–30. The Parable of the Talents and the Parable of the Pounds.

This is a mixed example, like that of the Wedding-Feast and the Great Supper. The parallelism of language is imperfect, and the hypothesis of literary connection in Greek hardly becomes imperative till Luke xix 21 ff. The two parables differ considerably in detail, and it may well be that they are not variants of the same parable, but were spoken at different times by our Lord. It is not necessary to suppose that Luke has fused two separate *stories*, one of a man who went abroad to receive royal authority, and the other of a man who entrusted his goods to his slaves in his absence. Rather, we have to do with an allegorical parable, in which Christ is the Lord and future King, the disciples are the slaves, and the Jewish people are the recalcitrant 'citizens.' (A similar allegory peeps through in the Parable of the Prodigal Son; the interest in the Jewish controversy is that of Luke's Aramaic source, rather than of Luke himself.)

Matthew's story shows no sign of mutilation, and is more simply 'parabolic' (though the line between parable and allegory is perhaps less definite than is sometimes supposed). We may, therefore, conclude that Luke's parable is from an Aramaic source, translated and embellished with the help of Matthew.

(Additional Note. The following considerations make it reasonable to suggest that Luke had access to an Aramaic source: (1) Style makes it certain that the author of Luke is the same as the author of Acts.[29] (2) The author of the two books has a Syriac strain in his Greek.[30] (3) The Infancy Narrative, with Benedictus and Magnificat, are Lucan in style, but profoundly Semitic in tone. (4) The early part of Acts probably rests in part on Aramaic sources. (5) The author of Acts was at Caesarea for about two years, and appears to have derived

[29] Doubt has been thrown on this by Professor A. C. Clark, in his edition of Acts. I may refer to Downside Review, July, 1933, pp. 536 f., where I have indicated the lines on which I should answer him.

[30] Syriacisms in St. Luke, by Dom Hugh Connolly, J. T. S., 1936.

materials for the first part of Acts from Palestinian contemporaries of the first years of the Church. (6) He notes his meeting with Mnason, an ἀρχαῖος μαθητής. (7) More subjective, but strong, is the argument that some of his peculiar material 'feels' hardly at all removed from the lifetime of Christ himself (e.g. the Martha-Mary episode and the Raising of the Widow's Son of Nain); Anschaulichkeit of this kind is an evanescent quality, due at times to nearness to the events described, at times (as in Plato) to the highest literary art — and though St. Luke was a literary artist, he was also an honest historian; how often is it lost in those passages where Luke modifies Mark or Matthew! It would hardly survive in a mere paraphrase of a translation.)

Conclusion

The solution of the problem on which we have been engaged obviously clears the stage for a series of further questions and studies. We need a fresh investigation of Luke's attitude to his two extant sources, a new appreciation of his historical fidelity, an examination of his relation to the Epistles of St. Paul, a determination of the dates before which his two books were respectively composed. We need, further, to approach afresh the study of Matthew, restored to his rights as the author of his own "Q" sections. And there is the problem, left on one side in this essay, of the relations between Matthew and Mark. Problems of documentary criticism lead the way to those of higher and historical criticism. But scientific method prescribes that we should observe this order and not allow the voice of documentary facts to be drowned in the clamor of conflicting higher critical hypotheses. A detective must not neglect his clues because he is 'sure' that an old schoolfellow cannot have fallen into crime.

THE FIGURE OF LOKI IN GERMANIC MYTHOLOGY

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ICELAND, that island of marvels, has preserved for us, as it has done in most other fields of Germanic culture, nearly all of what we know about the religion of our pagan ancestors. The two Eddas, the Elder (Poetic) and the Younger (Prose) Edda, furnish the whole body of coherent mythology accessible to us. As for the cults themselves, we are much less well informed, but such knowledge as we have is drawn mainly from the Sagas, prose tales dealing with men and events, real and fictitious, of the heathen time, written down two or three centuries after the adoption of Christianity as the state religion in the year 1000, yet seeking to give a faithful picture of the manners and beliefs of the old days, and with scarcely a trace of the intolerance which almost obliterated the pagan traditions in other parts of Germanic territory. The distribution and popularity of the cults, their relative age and gradual expansion have been revealed by the brilliant researches of Professor Magnus Olsen on the Norwegian place-names [1] and by the subsequent studies inspired by his work. The most recent comprehensive treatment of the whole subject, Jan de Vries, Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte,[2] devotes a first volume of 335 pages to the discussion of prehistoric and South Germanic religion taken together, while the second, dealing with North Germanic (Scandinavian) material and necessarily highly compressed, runs to 460 large octavo pages. Were it not for the evidence of Old Norse literature, preserved almost entirely in Iceland, our knowledge of the history of Germanic religion would be meager indeed.

[1] Hedenske Kultminder i norske Stedsnavne (Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter, hist.-filos. Klasse, 1914, No. 4), Kristiania, 1915. See also the same author's revision of P. A. Munch, Norrøne Gude- og Heltesagn[3], Kristiania, 1922, 210 ff., and his Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway: the place-names of a country discussed in their bearings on social and religious history, Harvard Univ. Press, 1928.

[2] Pauls Grundriss der germanischen Philologie[3], 12/1 and 2, 1935–37.

Nevertheless, extensive as the Icelandic material is, it is far from possessing the authority of a primary source, taken as a whole. It has already been mentioned that the manuscripts were written two to three centuries or more after the coming of Christianity. Thus it can scarcely be expected that they represent purely heathen tradition, in spite of the conservatism and conscientious antiquarian interest which have always distinguished the Icelanders. This is particularly true of the Younger Edda, a prose treatise on the art of poetry composed by Snorri Sturluson in the first half of the thirteenth century, containing a number of mythological tales. Together with much material that is undoubtedly old and genuine, Snorri has transmitted a great many new narrative motives which belong originally to the common stock of popular tales and are only secondarily attached to the gods, who are introduced as actors in the place of mortals. More than this, Snorri is one of the most remarkable literary artists of the Middle Ages, and there is no question that he adapted his oral and written sources in an aesthetic sense, heightening effects, imputing motives, combining and altering to achieve artistic unity.[3] More reliable sources are found in the poems, both Eddic and scaldic, but here too we must try to sift the genuine old from the later, unoriginal tradition. Few of the mythological poems in their extant redactions are older than the tenth century, when we must assume already a strong influence of Christian religious ideas.

The study of Germanic religion and mythology is thus confronted with many difficult problems. One of the most puzzling of all is that presented by the god Loki, about whose essential nature there are almost as many opinions as there are scholars who have occupied themselves with him. The educated layman probably thinks of him as a god of fire, such as he appears, under the name Loge, in Richard Wagner's opera Rheingold. Following his Old Norse sources, Wagner represents him in his

[3] F. von der Leyen, Das Märchen in den Göttersagen der Edda, Berlin, 1899; E. Mogk, Novellistische Darstellung mythologischer Stoffe Snorris und seiner Schule, Folklore Fellows Communications No. 51, Helsinki, 1923; Sigurður Nordal, Snorri Sturluson, Reykjavík, 1920.

characteristic rôle as sly and treacherous, standing midway between the doomed gods and the hostile powers which ultimately compass their destruction.[4]

The first scholar who sought to establish the conception of Loki as a fire-god on a scientific basis was Jakob Grimm.[5] One of Snorri's tales deals with a contest in eating between Loki and Logi, a fire-demon, whose name is identical with the appellative *logi*, 'fire' (German *Lohe*). There is, of course, no question that the inventor of the tale, whether Snorri or another, was conscious of the similarity of names, which contributed to the humorous effect of the burlesque discomfiture of the god who is worsted by his adversary. This probably fortuitous resemblance of the names, which the author turned to account to point the comedy of his narrative, becomes for Grimm a proof of the origin of the Old Norse god (of whom, he remarks, there are no traces in Germany) from an original fire-demon. *Logi* represents fire as a force of nature, *Loki* is a more highly developed figure having certain affinities with Prometheus and Hephaistos. The possibility is discussed that the later form *Loki* may have been secondarily connected with the verb *lūkan* 'claudere,' instead of *liuhan* 'lucere'; Loki as 'the closer' may belong with Grendel of the Old English Beowulf and the German *hellerigel* 'hell-fire, devil, hag.'[6] Grimm goes on to cite the modern Scandinavian traditions concerning the sprite Loke-Lokke.

The Danish scholar N. M. Petersen remarks, after calling attention to the apparent breadth of the conception of Loki in the sources, that 'his nature must probably be expressed in his name,' which is derived from *lúka* 'to end'; according to Uhland he is 'the limit and end of the gods' power,' according to others 'the tempter, the deceiver.'[7] Theodor Wisén continues to accept the etymological connection of the names *Loki* and *Logi*, and hence the original character of Loki as a fire-god,

[4] 'Loge bist du, doch nenn' ich dich Lüge!' 'Verfluchte Lohe, dich lösch' ich aus!' Scene 2. 'Zur leckenden Lohe mich wieder zu wandeln spür' ich lockende Lust.' Scene 4.

[5] Deutsche Mythologie[4] 1, 199 ff.

[6] Cf. T. von Grienberger, Zts. f. d. öster. Gym. 47, 1009.

[7] Nordisk Mythologi[1], Copenhagen, 1849, 355 ff.

but maintains that he acquired broader functions in the course of his development as shown in the Old Norse sources: a god of water (his offspring *Fenrir* connected with *fen*), a god of the air (his by-name *Loptr*).[8] A little later Viktor Rydberg, starting with the likeness of Loki to Prometheus, represents him as a fire-god going back to Aryan times. In an etymological interpretation of the names *Byleistr* and *Fárbauti*, borne by relatives of Loki, he sought evidence to prove that he had been specialised into a god of the lightning.[9]

R. Much finds no essential trait in Loki 'which cannot easily be understood primarily or secondarily from his nature as a fire-god.' He rejects the interpretation 'closer, ender' as too abstract to be original, likewise the theory of S. Bugge which would make *Loki* a shortened form of *Lucifer*, since it is not conceivable that the Northmen could have heard the latter name from the lips of the Anglo-Saxons (there is no trace of any such popular use in Anglo-Saxon territory). In general, he is convinced that Bugge has overestimated Christian influence on the figure of Loki. He himself (with some hesitation, to be sure) suggests a connection with OE. *loca* 'prison,' supposing that a postulated OIcel. appellative **loki* with the same sense became the name of the god as the first and most important being confined in the subterranean prison (the Northern equivalent of the Greek Tartaros), much as the original local name *Hel* (Gothic *halja*) developed into the name of the goddess of the dead.[10] He finds no virtue in the theory of E. Mogk, which sought to explain Loki as originating from the power of the heaven-god 'which could not only perform all things, but also conclude all things, which revealed itself to men not only on the pleasant, but also on the unpleasant side.' [11]

I pass over the manuals of P. Herrmann,[12] E. H. Meyer,[13]

[8] Oden och Loke, 1873, 62 ff.

[9] Undersökningar i germanisk Mythologi, 1886, 1, 450 f.

[10] Der germanische Himmelsgott, Festgabe Heinzel, 1898, 236 ff., especially 245 f.

[11] Pauls Grundriss d. germ. Phil.[2], 3, 348. Mogk later withdrew this idea in favor of a conception of Loki as a fire-elf, Hoops' Reallexikon d. germ. Altertumskunde, article *Loki*.

[12] Nordische Mythologie, 1903, 403 ff.

[13] Germanische Mythologie, 1891; Mythologie der Germanen, 1903, 163 ff.

and R. M. Meyer,[14] since they contribute nothing new. The everpresent difficulty for the writers of handbooks who wished to give their readers a consistent picture of the important and interesting god Loki was how to reconcile the various and often conflicting traditions about him, both in Old Norse literature and in modern popular belief. Nevertheless, the fire-god still seemed to most to be the core of the figure; G. Wilke connects Loki with the fire which Caesar reports was one of the chief objects of Germanic worship, and by way of Prometheus, Vulcan, and Agni arrives at the conception of a common Indo-European fire-god.[15]

Those who preferred the explanation 'the closer' were led, of course, in quite a different direction. Thus W. Golther defines Loki as 'the closing god, the god who brings about the end of the world.' A fire-demon, Logi, was confused with the god because of the similarity of name, also perhaps because the world was thought of as destroyed by fire.[16] Chantepie de la Saussaye finds it difficult to credit either the theory of the fire-god or the interpretation 'closer,' but is at a loss to suggest another hypothesis.[17] The Icelandic scholar Finnur Jónsson, prone to categorical statement of his views, who accepted the explanation 'closer,' regarded Loki as a giant closely connected with the evil and destructive powers in the world and without any relation to forces of nature or to fire.[18]

A third view conceived Loki as a god of the dead, his original character appearing in his relation with Hel.[19] H. Schück had a similar conception of him as a chthonic deity,[20] but after the publication of Axel Olrik's studies he admitted that the figure was probably a mixture of the death-god and the servant of the thunder-god.[21] In primitive religion there is a well known

[14] Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte, 1910, 335 ff.

[15] Die Religion der Indogermanen in archäologischer Beleuchtung (Mannus-Bibliothek 31), 119.

[16] Handbuch d. germ. Mythologie, 1895, 406 ff.

[17] The Religion of the Teutons, 1902, 259 ff.

[18] Goðafræði Norðmanna og Íslendinga eftir heimildum, Reykjavík, 1913, 96.

[19] O. Schonning, Dødsriger i nordisk Hedentro, Copenhagen, 1903.

[20] Studier i nordisk Litteratur- och Religionshistoria 2, 125.

[21] Schück and Warburg, Illustrerad svensk Litteraturhistoria[3], 1, 159.

connection between gods of death and gods of fertility (Osiris, Attis, Adonis); hence we are not surprised to find Loki interpreted as a vegetation-deity by F. R. Schröder,[22] though to be sure he reaches his conclusion by another way (the god's bisexual character, appearing in several myths, and an etymology proposed by J. Sahlgren, Namn och Bygd 6, 1918, 28 ff., which is accepted by de Vries and others, but is convincingly disputed by W. Krogmann in the article cited below, p. 324). In a recently published article on 'Germanische Urmythen,' Arch. f. Rel. 35, 201 ff., Schröder seeks (p. 213) further to reinforce this hypothesis. For the moment I postpone discussion.

The suggestion of a connection between Loki and Prometheus was as old as the discussion of the problem, having been made, as we have seen above, by Jakob Grimm himself. Prometheus stole the fire from the gods, and Loki was both a fire-god and a notorious thief, though curiously it is never told of him that he stole fire. It was assumed, nevertheless, that an older lost myth must have related this exploit of him also.

Prometheus and Loki are undeniably alike in many features, which they share with still another figure who plays an important rôle in primitive religions all over the world, the culture-hero.[23] Charles Godfrey Leland was the first to notice the resemblance between Loki and the culture-hero of the North American Indians.[24] His book belongs to the period when American writers were in the habit of looking in the most unlikely places for traces of the Vinland voyages: he suggests that the Norsemen may have communicated their tales of Loki to the Eskimos with whom they came in contact, who in turn transmitted them to the Indians.[25] The significance of Le-

[22] Germanentum und Hellenismus (Germ. Bibl. 2, 17), 1924, 115 ff.

[23] See A. van Deursen, Der Heilbringer, eine ethnologische Studie über den Heilbringer bei den nordamerikanischen Indianern, Groningen, 1931.

[24] The Algonquin Legends of New England or Myths and Folk Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes, Boston, 1884. See also Ellen Russell Emerson, Indian Myths, Boston, 1884, 361 ff.

[25] Op. cit. v f., 168 f. 'A re-perusal of the Eddas has impressed me with the remarkable resemblance of Lox, the Wolverine, to Loki. . . . But the most remarkable point is that the general immoral character of the Lox, [*footnote*: The coincidence of name amounts to nothing, as Lox is not, I believe, an Indian word.] or Wolverine, is so much like that of Loki, consisting of evil or mischief of the worst kind, always tempered by

land's observation remained unregarded until 1909, when Professor Friedrich von der Leyen took it up in his book Die Götter und Göttersagen der Germanen (Deutsches Sagenbuch 1), 222 ff.[26] 'Not the connection with fire is the oldest element in Loki's nature, and not from this connection have we to derive and to understand all the stories concerning the god — on the contrary, his slyness, his skill as a thief, the fact that he steals their possessions from the giants and brings them to gods or men, his inventiveness, all this remains the original and the characteristic feature of Loki, and this recurs in every tale about him, whereas it is only a few late accounts which know him as a fire-god.' Loki was originally an elflike being, the helper and benefactor of gods and men, on whom they called to extricate them from every difficulty by his sly devices. When the Christian devil came to Iceland, Loki was attracted into the sphere of the diabolical, his character rapidly worsened under the hands of the poets of the Viking Age, and at last the helpful sprite became a malevolent giant, the treacherous slayer of the Christlike Balder and a leader of the powers of death in the ultimate catastrophe of Ragnarok. In Iceland too, where volcanic outbreaks inspired terror, he was identified with the fire-demon Logi.

It is curious that so rational an explanation, which seems at last to furnish the key to the enigmatic nature of the god, failed to convince more than a few scholars. The great Danish folklorist Axel Olrik accepted it as it affected one side of Loki's character, but he was already engaged in pursuing a different line of investigation which he believed would lead to important results. In an article on the thunder-god and his servant [27] he set out from an eighteenth-century Swedish tradition which he took to be a modern descendant of the Old Norse tales of Thor and Thjalfi, the frail and nimble boyish companion of the mighty thunderer, who seems to change places with Loki in the myths dealing with Thor's adventures in Giantland. Thence

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humor, which provokes a laugh. Now to find a similar and very singular character supported by several coincidences of incident is, if nothing more, at least very remarkable.'

[26] See now the same author's Die Götter der Germanen, Munich, 1938, 190 ff.

[27] 'Tordenguden og hans Dreng,' Danske Studier 1905, 129 ff.

he proceeded to bring together an Esthonian myth concerning the thunder-god and his son with two of the Eddic poems in which Thor is the chief actor, reaching the conclusion that Loki was originally the son (or the servant) of the god. The difficulty involved in the existence of two independent names for the same mythological figure he solved by the assumption that Loki belonged to the countries 'beyond the Baltic Sea' (Finland and Esthonia), while Thjalfi was originally confined to Sweden. He left unexplained the odd circumstance, under the conditions of his theory, that the Thjalfi-district should be situated *between* the Loki-districts on both extremes (Finland-Esthonia on the east, Iceland on the west).

Olrik went on to subject the modern folklore material on Loki to a thorough study, reviewing all the available traditions in Iceland, the Faroes, the Shetlands, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.[28] The harvest resulting from this careful gleaning, it must be admitted, is but slender — Loki appears as a goblin, in Sweden connected with the hearth, in Denmark with the quivering heat over the fields in summer (*lysflimrevætte*); he is both mischievous and helpful, like other such familiar beings of popular belief.

Olrik's views of the folk-traditions were vigorously attacked by his Swedish colleague Hilding Celander in his monograph Lokes mytiska Ursprung.[29] Celander added considerably to the popular material, but his own theory that the evidence showed Loki to have been a chthonic spirit connected with the cult of the dead has found few adherents.

Before making a spirited reply to Celander's criticism (in Danske Studier 1912, 90 ff.), Olrik brought his Loki studies to a conclusion with his article 'Myterne om Loke,' Festskrift Feilberg, 548 ff. He represents the god as a composite figure in whom are united at least four originally distinct beings: (1) Othin-Loki, in tales of Othin, West Scandinavian; (2) Thor-Loki, in myths of Thor, East Scandinavian; (3) the devilish Loki, who originated with the Goths in the period of the mi-

[28] 'Loke i nyere Folkeoverlevering,' Danske Studier 1908, 193 ff., 1909, 69 ff.

[29] Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar 1907–09, Uppsala, 1911, 18 ff.

grations; (4) the culture-hero, probably the oldest component. Loki in modern folklore can be fitted into the scheme only with difficulty.

An Utrecht doctoral dissertation by Elizabeth Johanna Gras treats the Old Norse myths of Loki and their relation with one another.[30] The author states her conclusions on p. 122 ff.: the myths of the wicked Loki teach us nothing about his original nature. Drawn into the Balder myth under the influence of the Christian opposition of Christ and Satan, he passed through a development in the course of which his originally innocent traits were interpreted more and more *in malam partem*. Finally he was identified with the fettered giant of the Caucasus [31] and thus lost his old character so completely that he could be associated with the foes of the gods in the last struggle. Only in the myth of the invention of the fishing-net, accidentally interwoven in the cycle of the evil Loki, do we find the remnant of an ancient cultural or nature myth. The other myths are so overlaid with folklore motives that it is almost impossible to discover a primary nucleus. Yet he appears everywhere as the crafty and mischievous god, playing a rôle consistent with the popular conception of his character. Snorri and his precursors, who knew also the devilish Loki, found it easy to combine the two conceptions, but we find both in Snorri and in the poems of the skalds many contradictory features. Loki acts as the helpful god, but Snorri imputes to him all sorts of base motives and the poet Þjóðólfr cannot refrain from allusions to the real wickedness of his hero. Loki's association with Othin must rest on an old tradition; his relation with Thor, on the other hand, must be a literary creation, though it may be very ancient. The original companion of Thor is not Loki but Thjalfi. Miss Gras agrees with Celander that there is not a shred of evidence that Loki was ever considered to be a fire-demon. His pronounced liking for water

[30] De Noordse Loki-mythen in hun onderling Verband, Haarlem, 1931.

[31] First suggested by Axel Olrik, 'Om Ragnarok,' Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie 1902, 157 ff., and 'Ragnarokforestillingernes Udspring,' Danske Studier 1913, 1 ff. German edition of both parts transl. W. Ranisch, Ragnarök, die Sagen vom Weltuntergang, 1922.

points in quite a different direction. In this connection the author returns to a note by Grüner Nielsen and Olrik [32] suggesting a connection with a Dutch watersprite Kludde or Lodder. The existence in the same district of a goblin Loeke points to a parallel with Loki and *Lóðurr*, which seems to be a byname of Loki in some Old Norse sources. This is corroborated by evidence from Germany in the name *Logapore* on the Nordendorf brooch.

A century of learned discussion [33] culminated in 1933 in the exhaustive monograph of Jan de Vries, The Problem of Loki, FF Communications No. 110. De Vries reviews and criticises the opinions of his predecessors before attacking the problem anew. This clearing of the ground is one of the most valuable contributions of his study, which is marked throughout by cool sagacity and logical restraint. Himself a competent folklorist, he is at his best in his demolition of the extravagant claims of the scholars who have tried to correct the Old Norse sources on the basis of the exiguous modern traditions. This includes the work of Olrik and Celander, as well as Miss Gras's attempt to draw conclusions from the folklore of her native country (*Lodder*). I am so entirely in agreement with his findings that I will merely refer the reader to his discussion of this side of the problem, with a single exception, which I will mention here.

Olrik, Danske Studier 1908, 200, called attention to an English charm reported from Lincolnshire by the Rev. Robt. M. Heanley.[34] The informant writes:

> We had a great deal of ague in the marshes in those days [the autumn of 1858 or 1859], and my dear mother dispensed much quinine amongst the poor. I often took it to their houses for her. Going one day with a second bottle to a certain old woman, whose grandson had a bad attack, I was met with the remark: 'I knows a deal better cure than yon nasty bitter stuff. See here, lad!' And with that she took me into his room, and to the foot of the old four-poster on which he lay shivering and shaking. There in the centre of the footboard were nailed three horseshoes with a hammer fixed crosswise upon them. Taking down the hammer she sharply tapped each shoe, saying words to this effect as she did so:

[32] 'Loeke, Lodder i flamsk Folketro,' Danske Studier 1912, 87 ff.

[33] Since Jakob Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie[1], 1835.

[34] Folklore 1898, 186.

'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Nail the devil to this post.
With this mell I thrice do knock,
One for God,
And one for Wod,
And one for Lok.'

'There, lad!' she said, 'yon's a sure charm that will hold the old one as fast as t' church tower when next he comes to shake 'un.'

When I returned home and repeated this to my mother, she at once pointed out the extraordinary mingling of Christianity and paganism — God, Woden, and Lokki. [35]

Olrik took this charm as evidence that a triad of gods was known in England corresponding to Othin, Loki, and Hœnir, who appear together in the Old Norse myths. Since they are also found together in a Faroese ballad, Loka táttur, it is possible that the Norsemen introduced the tales into Britain in the Viking Age, but Olrik thought it simpler to suppose that a triad of gods containing Woden and 'Lok' was known and worshipped by the pagan Anglo-Saxons when they migrated from the continent to England. Hœnir is a nebulous figure in the myths, but there is evidence that he is the faded descendant of a once important deity, and Olrik believed that he had been supplanted by 'God' in Christian times. Professor E. A. Philippson, Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen, 1929, 153, thinks it more likely that the tradition came in after the conversion from the Faroes, citing the evidence of the Loka táttur.

F. Ohrt, Trylleord fremmede og danske, Danmarks Folkeminder 25, 82 f., received the charm with scepticism, pointing out that Loki was nowhere mentioned outside of Scandinavia, and expressing doubt of the reliability of the witness who professed to recollect a verse heard forty years before. The fact that it was communicated in two versions from the same source seemed to him also to cast suspicion on it. De Vries shares this suspicion in still higher degree. 'It is surprising that no one,

[35] Cf. County Folklore 5, 125, where the charm is given in the dialect, in a slightly different version: 'Feyther, Son and Holy Ghoast, / Naale the divil to this poast. / Throice I smoites with Holy Crok, / With this mell Oi throice dew knock, / One for God / An' one for Wod, / An' one for Lok.'

before enunciating such far-reaching conclusions, has asked if this piece of English folk-lore is quite reliable. For one may wonder that a boy who once has heard a magic formula under rather nerve-straining circumstances, recollects it about forty years later without one single alteration. Moreover is it possible that a formula has been handed down during a period of fourteen ages without considerable changes in form and contents, especially if we consider that it must have been originally an alliterative poem and that it has been recast into the modern form of a rhyme-verse? F. Ohrt has cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of this formula and I think it also quite unadmissible to make use of this questionable evidence for the reconstruction of the old Teutonic belief. *God* of course belongs to the Christian belief, *Wod* may denote the heathen god, whom people remembered even in Christian times as the principal deity of their pagan forefathers. But what of *Lok*? As a divine triad is obligatory in this kind of formula, a third one had to be added and its name had to rhyme with the words *crok* and *knock* in the preceding lines. Moreover, there are so many fanciful words and names in charms, used in modern times, that we must be very careful in abusing them as reliable documents from the heathen period.'[36]

But would not the precise circumstances under which the boy heard the charm have operated to impress it strongly on his memory? No doubt it underwent considerable changes in the process of transmission from pagan times; the substitution of 'God' is one such, and the first two lines are a familiar formula in Christian charms. The verse as we have it is just the sort of thing we should expect to get in a mixture of pagan and Christian belief. It is not, I take it, contended that we have to do with the direct descendant of an alliterative formula, merely that the verse contains a vague reminiscence of the divine triad.

The scepticism of scholars regarding the English charm was thoroughly justified so long as it was assumed that the god Loki was confined to Scandinavia. But this, as we shall see, was an erroneous assumption.

[36] Loc. cit. 48 f.

On the constructive side de Vries's book is equally sober and judicious. After sifting the material and carefully studying the evidence he recognizes as reliable, he reaches a conclusion very like that of von der Leyen: the core of the Loki-figure is the culture-hero. He compares the Norse god with Prometheus and Hermes, and finds the greatest similarity of all in the traditions of the American Indians, as reported by American ethnologists (Boas, Alexander, Lowie, Gifford, Skinner and Satterlee).

The next contribution to our understanding of the problem, and a most important one, came from an American scholar, Dean Gilbert T. Hoag of Kenyon College, in a Harvard dissertation of 1937, entitled Two Norse Myths of the Thieving Hawk.[37] Dean Hoag has succeeded in proving (in my opinion conclusively) that the Norse myths of the theft of the mead of poetry and of the apples of Iðunn, transmitted in the Prose Edda and in older, poetic monuments, both go back to a common source which agrees even in detail with one version of the Hindu myth of Soma. According to Dr. Hoag Othin has in the first myth, the tale of the winning of the mead from the giant Suttungr, supplanted Loki, who appears in the second myth as the being who rescues from another giant, named Þjazi, the goddess Iðunn and the apples of youth, which, in turn, have been substituted for the magic beverage. Thus Loki was in the original version the god who in the form of a bird stole the life-giving mead from its demon guardian. Hoag argues that Loki was originally a 'heroic hawk,' who first stole the mead from the giants for the gods and was then persuaded by the offer of blood-brotherhood with Othin and acceptance among the number of the gods to repeat the theft, this time in behalf of his new patrons and comrades. This theory, it is maintained, offers a satisfactory explanation of the enigmatically ambivalent nature of the god, which has exercised the ingenuity of generations of scholars and has been the subject of discussion particularly in recent years.

On the basis of his hypothesis Hoag seeks to establish a new etymology of the name of Þjazi, the giant who in the second myth carries off Iðunn and her apples. The previously ac-

[37] Typewritten manuscript in the Harvard College Library.

cepted etymology of Elof Hellquist [38] derived the name from a *Lallwort þet-* or *þeð-*, compounded with the determinative *-se* (*-si*), and having the sense 'father' or 'grandfather' ('daddy,' 'granddad'). Hoag points out that in the Hindu myth of Soma one of the most important figures is the god Tvaṣṭṛ, and he suggests tentatively that there may be an etymological connection between the names *Tvaṣṭṛ* and *þjazi*. He compares the side-form *taṣṭṛ* 'a carpenter,' 'a maker of carriages' with *þjazi*, finding that to the Indo-European *t* corresponds regularly the Primitive Germanic and Old Norse *þ* (the spirant *th*), and to the Sanskrit *a*, going back to IE. *e*, the ON. *ja* which arose historically from a diphthongising ('breaking') of *e* before a following *a* (assumed in the stem-inflection, as also by Hellquist). He finds himself unable to carry the comparison farther, remarking that with regard to the consonant-group *str*, 'which corresponds to IE. *str* or *stri*,' he has not succeeded in tracing a development into Norse *ssi* or *zi* (variant spellings). Nevertheless, 'because of the great likeness of the myths,' he puts forward his suggestion in the hope that it will lead to further investigation.

If we proceed from the striking similarity of the myths to which Dr. Hoag has called attention, and assume that the Hindu god T(v)aṣṭṛ (or Tvaṣṭar [39]), who is obviously an original culture-hero, goes back to an Indo-European god whose name we reconstruct on the basis of the Sanskrit form, we get a hypothetical **Tek̂þtr̥*, with the same meaning as that of *Tvaṣṭṛ*, 'the maker,' 'the artificer,' 'the creator.' Tracing the development of **Tek̂þtr̥* into Primitive Germanic we find that *t* becomes *þ*, *e* remains, *k* becomes *h* (the velar *χ*), *þ* becomes *s*, *t* remains after *s*, the syllabic *r̥* becomes *ur*: **þehstur-*. Let us now see what would happen to this base in Old Norse. Assuming the

[38] 'Om jättenamnet Þjaze,' Ark. f. nordisk Filologi, 21, 1905, 132 ff.

[39] Corresponding, sound for sound, to Lat. *textor*, which has the specialised sense of 'weaver.' Greek *τέκτων* shows the original, general significance of 'artisan,' 'craftsman,' meaning in Homer 'stone-cutter,' 'carpenter,' 'ship-builder,' 'wagon-builder,' 'horn-turner,' and 'ivory-carver.' See O. Schrader, Reallexikon d. idg. Altertumskunde² 1, 394, art. *Gewerbe* §5. The IE. root *tek̂þ-* has a large number of derivatives in the descendant languages, among which may be cited Old English *þeox* 'spear' and Old Icelandic *þexla* 'adze.'

a-stem noun-inflection and adding the Germanic nominative case-ending *-z*, corresponding to *-s* in Greek and Latin, we get a nominative form **þehsturaz* as the god's name in Primitive Germanic. In Old Norse the *h* would be lost. The next vowel (*u*) would normally remain, but I assume here a loss in adaptation to the monosyllabic stem-form of **þunr-aR*, the Primitive Norse name of the great thunder-god Thor, with whom Loki in the mythological tales is constantly associated. The stem-vowel *a* would produce breaking of the preceding *e* to *ja*, resulting in a stem **þjastra-*, and with later syncope of the stem-vowel **þjastr-*. Attaching the determinative *-si*, we get **þjastr-si*. The *r* would be regularly lost in such an accumulation of consonants, and the first *s* likewise by the process called dissimilation. This gives us *þjatsi*, the historical name of the giant in the Norse myth (the name is usually spelled *þjazi*, the *z* in ON. orthography having the same value, *ts*, as in modern German).

But this is not all. The argument receives unexpected and welcome support from the existence of the man's name *þjóstólfr*, widely disseminated in West Norse territory in historical times,[40] the derivation of which has hitherto been obscure.[41] There can now be no doubt that it belongs to the class of theophorous personal names (*þórólfr*, *Ásólfr*, *Ingólfr*), compounded of a divine name and the second element *-ólfr* 'wolf.' *þjóstólfr* shows *u*-breaking of the root-vowel, which regularly took place preceding a labial vowel, *e* becoming *jo*, while the side-form *þestólfr* (see Lind, loc. cit.) has the primary vowel unbroken, confirming the assumption that the ON. *ja* in *þjazi* goes back to IE. *e*. *þjóstarr*, a personal name which occurs much less often than *þjóstólfr*, has *u*-breaking instead of the expected *a*-breaking, probably by analogy with the more frequent *þjóstólfr*. All these forms without the determinative *-si* show, of course, the undissimilated *s* of the root-syllable, which disappeared in **þjast-si*. A difficulty, at first sight, is presented by the lack of the *r* of the agent-suffix (**þestr-*, **þjastr-*, **þjostr-*); it may have been obscured by the *-r* of the nominative case-ending in ON., with which it coalesced, giving a new stem *þest-*, *þjost-*.

[40] E. H. Lind, Norsk-isländska Dopnamn, lists a long series of variant forms from various periods and districts.

[41] See Lind, Ark. f. n. Fil. 11, 269.

In any case, in view of the other linguistic facts, it will scarcely be possible to deny the connection with *þjazi*.[42]

After working out the argument stated above, I read the article 'Loki' by Willy Krogmann in the Acta Philologica Scandinavica, 12, 1938, 59 ff., which brings additional evidence. It deals particularly with the runic inscription on the famous brooch of Nordendorf, discovered in 1843 during the building of the railway between Augsburg and Donauwörth. The brooch was found in a large burial-field near the village of Nordendorf; numerous coins made it possible to date the finds as belonging to the sixth or seventh century. The runes on the reverse side of the brooch represent two inscriptions of different dates. The older one consists of three lines, one below the other, which were first read correctly in 1866 by C. Hofmann.[43] The lines run:

LOGAþORE
WODAN
WIGUþONAR
(The third line is read by some WIGIþONAR.)

The runes of the second series are obviously the divine name *Wodan* (OE. *Woden*, ON. *Óðinn*). The third line has been variously interpreted, but there can scarcely be any doubt that Wolfgang Krause was right in connecting it with the ON. *Vingþórr*, a by-name of Thor.[44] Thus lines 2 and 3 both contain a god's name. This makes it extremely likely that line 1 also represents a divine appellation of some kind. Here again it was von der Leyen who first suggested the correct interpretation. In an article, Zts. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde 25, 136 ff., he brought the word together with *Lóðurr*, which occurs in some ON. sources, apparently as a by-name of Loki (see above), and his suggestion was adopted and further supported by W. von Unwerth, ibid., 26, 81 ff., and Krause, loc. cit., in an attempt to clear up certain morphological and semantic difficulties. The ultimate solution was found by Krogmann in the article already referred to; he calls attention to conclusive evidence

[42] The technical proof is presented in greater detail in my article Loki und *Tek̂þtṛ, ein bisher unbekannter indogermanischer Gott, which has just appeared in the Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 63, 457 ff.

[43] Sitzb. d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften 1866, 2, 138 ff., 207 f.

[44] Zts. f. d. Altertum, 64, 269 ff. For the meaning, see now Krogmann, loc. cit., 63 ff.

hitherto overlooked, in OE. glosses of the period following the date of the Nordendorf inscription. A vocabulary of the eighth century has *Cacomicanus logðor*, a glossary of the tenth the same. Finally, an eleventh century manuscript has the glosses *Cacomicanus logþer* and *Marsius logeþer*. *Marsius*, says Krogmann, had the sense 'snake-charmer,' 'sorcerer,' since the Marsi were believed to be able to heal snake-bites and had a reputation as snake-charmers. *Cacomicanus* is κακομήχανος 'treacherous,' 'deceitful.' [45]

The importance of Krogmann's observation is at once clear. The inscription of Nordendorf gives us our only evidence that Loki was worshipped in continental Germanic territory; the English charm immediately acquires a much greater color of authenticity. A point which is constantly raised in the discussion is the fact that neither sagas nor place-names give any hint of a *cult* of Loki; de Vries notes this too, but suggests the possibility that it may be due to the private character of his worship. It may now be pointed out that among primitive peoples the culture-hero occupies a place midway between gods and men; we can scarcely speak of a cult devoted to him. When one considers the pitiful *disjecta membra* which are all that is left to us of the old religion in England and Germany (we are sometimes reduced to the names of the days of the week for our most conclusive evidence), one need not be surprised at the paucity of the evidence in this case, and we should be on our guard against the facile argument from silence.[46]

Our conclusion can be stated in a few words. All the threads of the investigation converge upon a single focus.[47] An Indo-European myth of the theft of the divine drink by the god *Tek̂þtr̥, of the culture-hero type, was transmitted in India and

[45] The etymology of the Germanic word does not concern us here, since the meaning is clear from the glosses. But see Krogmann, loc. cit. 68 f.

[46] It is pure chance that we are informed about the existence of such private cults as the *álfablót* (sacrifice to the elves) and the cult of Vǫlsi, the horse-phallus. A bit of evidence not to be lightly disregarded is the name *þjóstólfr*, the very type of personal names described by H. Usener, Götternamen, 350, given to children in artisan families to place them under the protection of the patron god (though, to be sure, the name is no doubt very old and its significance was no longer understood in the historical period).

[47] I agree with de Vries that in these matters etymology should never be the point of departure, divorced from a careful study of the religious phenomenon as such. But when this condition is fulfilled, it may often furnish the decisive proof.

in Germanic territory to the literary period. In India the name was preserved (Tvaṣṭar), but the rôle of the thief was taken over in most versions by the bird Garuḍa and the god Indra, or Indra in eagle-form.[48] The Teutons, on the contrary, kept the culture-hero in his original rôle — *Þehsturaz at first, and later Logaþore-Lóðurr-Loki (the last a hypocoristic form, see Krogmann, loc. cit., 60), when the god's by-name 'the crafty one' had displaced his original name 'the fashioner,' 'the creator.' In Scandinavia the original divine name was by some misunderstanding transferred to the hostile giant.

The myth of *Tekþtr̥ was a primitive, artless tale, showing a naïve delight in the wiles of the sly god which reminds us vividly of the culture-hero myths in America and Melanesia. It is at least a round thousand years older than the Egyptian fairy-tale of the two brothers in its traditional version, the discovery of which in the last century, with its dating from the middle of the second millennium B.C., profoundly altered the conception of the age of the folk-tale.[49] The god who was known in Scandinavia as Loki is one of the oldest figures in Germanic religion.[50]

[48] A very ancient motive; cf. the 'Minoan bird-epiphany,' Martin P. Nilsson, A History of Greek Religion, 34; see also 56 f., 65.

[49] G. Maspero, Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne[4], 1 ff.

[50] The most recent contributions to the discussion, by Franz Rolf Schröder, Arch. f. Rel., 35, 1938, 201 ff. (especially 213), and Hermann Schneider, ibid., 237 ff., both the productions of learned and ingenious scholars, suffer from the methodological faults so incisively criticised by de Vries. Schröder clings to his interpretation of Loki as a vegetation deity, Schneider presents the god as a death-demon, and reverts to the discredited etymology of *Loki* as 'the closer.' Schröder (224) believes that Othin as the possessor of the eight-footed horse Sleipnir was originally a *Totendämon* in horse-form; Schneider (249), because Loki was the parent of Sleipnir, draws the same conclusion in regard to Loki. It is evident that such speculations cannot further the search for the truth.

I would only cite here the warning of Axel Olrik, 'Tordenguden og hans Dreng,' Danske Studier 1905, 137, a warning which, alas! he himself did not always regard: 'Når sammenlignende mytologer har fået ud af sagnet, at Thjalfe var en Prometheus der bragte ilden til jorden, er det en ganske vilkårlig omtydning, og den er kun mulig ved at løsrive Þielvar-sagnet fra det organisk sammenhørende stof. En anden sag er det, at det muligvis er en mytisk Thielvar-Thialfe, der bryder øens trolddom, — men da vi aldrig har ham optrædende uden i Thors følge, svæver en sådan gætning ret højt i det blå. Ilden som middel mod troldskab er så almindelig i folkeskik (Feilberg, Ordbog II 12), at den ikke byder nogensomhelst sandsynlighed for, at sagnet rører sig i gudernes verden.'